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## *THE IDEA OF PRIESTHOOD.*

Is the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ considered as a whole priestly or not-priestly? Is the Christian Ministry within her priestly or not-priestly? If both are priestly, what is the relation of the priestly Ministry to the priestly Church? These are questions deserving closer attention than is at this moment paid to them in some at least of the branches of the Christian Church or by many individual Christian men. For

1. The language used in regard to them is often singularly vague, indefinite, and even self-contradictory. It is not uncommon to hear both Christian ministers and laymen glorying in the statement that there is now no priesthood upon earth, and that the Christian revelation knows only one priest, the Great High Priest who has passed into the heavens, and is set down at the right hand of the Majesty on high. They regard it as almost the main factor in the Reformation movement of the sixteenth century, and as certainly one of its most valuable results, that by it the conception of an earthly priesthood was dispelled, and the old power of the priest over his fellow men not only broken but for ever extinguished. They thank God that they themselves do not belong to a priestly Church. In language such as this the word "priest" is used in an invidious and objectionable sense. It is associated with presumption, spiritual pride, tyranny over the conscience, an effort to keep the mass of the Christian people in subjection to a caste, and denial of that independent and free access to the Father of the spirits of all flesh which

is the birthright of every believer in Jesus. The epithet sacerdotalism, meant to be opprobrious, is applied to the views of all who contend for a Christian priesthood still existent in the world; and innumerable pulpits and platforms echo with the cry, "We are no priests," as if nothing could more conclusively establish the humility of those who utter it, or—give them a juster claim upon the submission of their hearers. But this language is not always, perhaps it is seldom, meant to be literally understood. Were explanation asked, we should be told that it was by no means intended to banish the idea of priesthood even from the Christianity of earth, and that the sole aim of those who use it was to contend against the existence of a priestly class, the members of which have any special right to discharge spiritual functions in the Church, any special promises to depend on, or any more reason to expect the Divine blessing on their work than is assured to every true-hearted and genuine disciple of Christ. Not to destroy, it would be said, the idea of the personal or universal priesthood, but only that of the priesthood of the clergy, is the end in view. It is forgotten even that the clergy are at least a part of the Church; that, if the whole Church be priestly, they must at least share in the general priesthood; and that the relation between it and their ministerial duties ought to be defined. The consequence is that large bodies of Christians have avowedly abandoned the idea of a divinely appointed Ministry altogether, while multitudes of individual Christians, still remaining members of Churches professing an opposite belief, have come practically to the same conclusion. The question as to what the Ministry is, and what it is to do, if there be a ministry, they will not consent to look at. The gospel is a spiritual dispensation, there is no difference in the standing of Christian men before God, every man is substantially a minister, settles the question. Where conclusions of this kind are not drawn,



evils of as serious a kind arise in the opposite direction. In the effort to get rid of what are supposed to be the disastrous consequences of admitting the priesthood of the clergy, the priesthood of the laity disappears. It is undeniable that language like that above alluded to leads in innumerable cases to the loss of all recollection that there is even a common or individual priesthood. Privileges associated with that idea are not appreciated, and responsibilities flowing from it are not felt. The polemic against one side of a complex truth has been so conducted as to destroy both sides; until at length, if we take the Reformed Churches generally, those very Churches which a recent writer has declared to be founded upon the notion of a priesthood common to all Christians,<sup>1</sup> it is no exaggeration to say that there is hardly a less operative principle among them than that of which they boast so loudly when their object is not build up but to destroy. Even the High Anglican argument must bear its share in the responsibility of this result. If we may judge from the language of such men as Carter, Moberly, and Liddon, it is felt that the idea of the general Christian priesthood has not had its due prominence assigned to it in the teaching of the Anglican Church, and that it has vanished far too much from the minds of her members. Whether the effect was anticipated or not, it would seem that the mode in which the general subject has been treated, and in which, more particularly, the argument both for and against a ministerial priesthood has been conducted, has almost expelled from the Christian community at large the thought of its personal priesthood. How great the loss thereby incurred, an inquiry into the meaning and functions of the priesthood can alone enable us to determine.

2. The question is one which penetrates to the very heart of the Church's life and work in the world. That

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Lindsay, *The Reformation*, chap. iv.



this was the case in Israel will probably be at once admitted. The priestly character of that people was the fundamental principle of their existence, and regulative of all their relations alike towards God and man. The first message of the Almighty by Moses to the tribes assembled at Sinai was, "Ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation" (Exod. xix. 6). This was the charter of their existence, the very centre of the whole economy under which they lived. Only when this end had been attained could they occupy the position, enjoy the privileges, or discharge the functions that had been assigned to them. Failing in this, they would have failed in all. Thus, without being first a priestly, Israel could not have been a *kingly*, people. In the fact that Jehovah was its King much more was implied than that the Jewish nation was ruled by the Divine power and made the depositary of a specially Divine legislation. The righteous reign of the heavenly King was to be reflected in it. "Judges and officers," it was said, "shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes; and they shall judge the people with righteous judgment. Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift, for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous" (Deut. xvi. 18, 19). In no other way than as living in God its King could Israel be kingly, and it was needful therefore that, in what we have to see is the true sense of the word, it should first be priestly. As with its kingly, so also with its *prophetical* function. For Israel was to be a prophet to the heathen, yet not by actual proclamation to them of a Divine message, but by what itself was. Its life, the holiness and happiness of its obedience, the success which crowned its arms, the plenty which smiled from its vineyards and oliveyards and fields,—these were to be its prophetical message to surrounding peoples. "This," said

Moses, "is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what great nation is there that hath a god so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is whensoever we call upon Him? And what great nation is there that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law?" (Deut. iv. 6-8.) The voice of the nation to the world was to be that of Moses to Jethro: "Come thou with us, and we will do thee good." But before this voice could be uttered with effect, the end of Israel's priestly calling had to be reached. The priestly function, in short, lay deeper than either the kingly or prophetic. As a priest only could Israel be either a prophet or a king.

But we are not left to general reasoning upon this point. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has distinctly taught us the truth of which we are now speaking: "The priesthood being changed," he says, "there is made of necessity a change also of the law" (chap. vii. 12). Under the word "law" here the whole Old Testament economy is embraced (comp. ver. 11; viii. 6); and the statement is as distinct as language can make it, that so essentially, so fundamentally, did the idea of the Aaronic priesthood enter into the thought of Israel's life that, when that priesthood was "changed" (the word is remarkable, for it is not "was brought to an end"), the whole life of Israel was changed along with it. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the idea of the priesthood was the leading, forming, and controlling idea of the Old Testament dispensation. If it was so then, we may naturally expect it to be so under that New Testament dispensation which proceeds upon the same great lines as the dispensation preceding it, only bringing with it the full accomplishment of what had formerly been presented in type and shadow. But the Epistle to the Hebrews is again decisive upon this point. The priesthood



of Christ, together with the privileges and duties of that priesthood transferred to such as are united to Him in faith, is unquestionably the leading theme of that Epistle, the spring out of which both its doctrinal teaching and its practical exhortations flow? Nor is this the case only, because the Epistle was addressed to a people familiar with the idea of priests and sacrifices. The object of the writer is not to pass from these ideas to other ideas of a different kind, for which it might be said that the former had prepared the way. It is to confirm the ideas, while it is at the same time to show that in Christ they existed not in outward, material, and temporal forms, but that they had been transferred to an inward, spiritual, and eternal sphere. Blot them out from the Epistle, or regard them as spoken only in accommodation to ignorant or childish conceptions, and its whole teaching would become unintelligible, and would leave us no alternative except to reject its canonical authority.

Experience teaches the same lesson. The question of the priesthood of the Church of Christ, in whatever way we understand the particulars of the general statement, pierces to the very heart of Christian thought and life. In comparison with it questions regarding Romish or Episcopal or Presbyterian government, or regarding the propriety of Establishment and Endowment as compared with Dis-establishment and Dis-endowment, sink into insignificance. Such questions as these are but little affected by the conclusion come to in reference to the priesthood. The lowest notions upon the point may be and are entertained by Episcopalians as well as Presbyterians. The highest have been and are entertained by Presbyterians as well as by Episcopalians. The clergy of an Established Church are not made by their position more priestly than those of a disestablished Church. In fact they are far less prone to be so; and one of the first effects that would follow dis-



establishment either in Scotland or England would be a stimulating and strengthening of the priestly conception of the Church that might well make not a few of her keenest opponents, if their language is to be understood as the expression of their real thoughts, pause and fear. By our reception or denial of priesthood in the Church, in short, our entire view of what the Church is must be affected and moulded. We shall either accept the idea of a visible and organized body, within which Christ rules by means of a ministry, sacraments, and ordinances to which He has attached a blessing, the fulness of which we have no right to look for except through the channels He has ordained (and it ought to be needless to say that this is the Presbyterian idea), or we shall rest satisfied with the thought of the Church as consisting of multitudes of individual souls known to God alone, as invisible, unorganized, with ordinances blessed because of the memories they awaken, but to which no promise of present grace is tied, with in short no thought of a Body of Christ in the world, but only of a spiritual and heavenly principle ruling in the hearts and regulating the lives of men. Conceptions of the Church so widely different from each other cannot fail to affect in the most vital manner the Church's life and relation to those around her. Yet both conceptions are the logical and necessary result of the acceptance or denial of the idea of a divinely appointed and still living priesthood among men.

3. The question is one, the answer to which must powerfully influence the relations of the different branches of the Church of Christ to one another. Upon this point it is unnecessary to say much. It follows directly from what has been said already. Let it be enough, therefore, to remark that it is by turning their attention to questions such as this that those who take the deepest interest in the unity of the Church will best promote the end they have

in view. Very little good comes of discussing small particulars, for every Christian knows by instinct, what it were well also that he knew by reason, that his real life does not lie in such things. One Church may adopt to a very large extent the fashions and ways of another, and yet be hardly nearer it than it was. Perhaps it may be a little nearer, because the human mind upon a great scale is wonderfully logical, and fashions and ways which have established themselves in the course of centuries mostly always flow from some central spring, and have a close relation to one another. Yet conformity in a few outward particulars will not go far to produce unity. It is in the fire of great questions that the dross of faction must rise to the surface to be skimmed away, while the pure ore will be separated from it to be wrought into bonds of love. It has been the misery of faction in all ages, that it extinguishes the love of great questions and the zeal to solve them in the theologian's breast. These questions cannot live in its unhealthy atmosphere and amid the foul exhalations which it engenders. The more therefore students can turn their thoughts to them the better. They may do something at least to make our different churches feel that they have a great common heritage to preserve, and a great common duty to perform, and that in the effort to do these two things will they best realise the greatness of the Divine love to themselves, taste the blessedness of loving as they have been loved, and show how much they, by love, can accomplish for others.

We have lingered long upon these preliminary remarks, and must without further delay proceed to the topic before us—What is the idea of Priesthood?

In answering this question no help can be obtained from considering the etymology of the word. That etymology is too uncertain to be depended on. But it is of the less moment that this should be the case, because the word is

used in circumstances sufficiently clear to guide us to a distinct conception of the thought expressed by it in Scripture. Thus when Korah and his companions rebelled against Moses because they were denied the office of the priesthood, and were confined to the inferior services of the tabernacle, Moses said, "In the morning the Lord will show who are His, and who is holy, and whom He will cause to come near unto Him; even him whom He shall choose will He cause to come near unto Him" (Num. xvi. 5). These last words distinctly show the nature of the position to which the rebellious Levites aspired; and when, therefore, they are immediately afterwards charged with "seeking the priesthood also" (ver. 10), *i.e.* in addition to the privileges possessed by them as the sons of Levi, we cannot doubt that the "priesthood" and "coming near unto God" are equivalent expressions. The same thing appears in the language of the Almighty to Moses upon the mount, when He set before him the peculiar nature of the position to which Israel had been called: "Now therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all peoples; for all the earth is Mine; and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation" (Exod. xix. 5, 6). To be a "peculiar treasure" unto the Lord, to be His with a nearness which could not be ascribed to any other nation of the earth, was to be a "kingdom of priests." It is not otherwise in Ps. xcix. in which "the true character of God's worshippers as consecrated priests, holy, set apart for His service, is illustrated by the example of holy men of old, like Moses, Aaron, and Samuel."<sup>1</sup> The characteristic of these men was that "they called upon God, and He answered them," that "He spoke unto them in the cloudy pillar"; while at the same time He was a God that forgave them, though He

<sup>1</sup> Prowne, *in loc.*



took vengeance of their inventions (vers. 6-8). The New Testament bears witness to the same truth; and, more especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, it finds in the drawing near to God, in the enjoyment of immediate access to His presence, the most distinguishing mark of that priesthood which it ascribes to the heavenly High Priest and to all who in assurance of faith have fled for refuge to the hope set before them in Him (comp. chap. vi. 18-20; viii. 1; ix. 11, 12).

The point now before us will be made still clearer if we consider that, when in Num. xvi. 5 the qualifications of the priesthood are described, nothing is said of mediating for others.

The qualifications there spoken of are four. (1) The priest must be the property, or in an eminent degree the possession, of God; "the Lord will show who are His." (2) He must be holy; "and who is holy." (3) He must come near to God; "whom He will cause to come near unto Him." (4) He must be divinely chosen or selected for this purpose; "whom He shall choose will He cause to come near unto Him." The same characteristics again appear in the demands made upon the priestly people, and in the description of the qualities by which they were to be marked. We nowhere read that Israel was to mediate with God on behalf of the Gentile nations by which it was surrounded. Its life was to be a lesson to them. The peace, prosperity, and success which it enjoyed so long as it continued faithful to the covenant, were to illustrate the blessedness of those who had the Lord for their God and whom He had chosen to be His own inheritance. A light was to go forth from it which should lighten the darkness resting upon the earth; and it was thus to prepare the way for the coming of Him who should be the Saviour, not of one people only, but of the world. Nothing, however, is said of mediation. The priestly people were in an eminent

degree God's possession, "His people" and "His inheritance" (Deut. ix. 26, 29), "a peculiar treasure unto Him above all people" (Exod. xix. 5). They were to be holy, for the Lord their God was holy (Lev. xix. 2). They were to draw nigh to God and He was to draw nigh to them in such a manner that the question could be asked, "What other nation has God so nigh unto them?" (Deut. iv. 7.) Finally, they were especially selected for these purposes, "The Lord their God had chosen them to be a special people unto Himself above all people that were upon the face of the earth" (Deut. vii. 6). The same qualifications, in short, which mark the priestly class called out for special circumstances from amongst the priestly people, mark the people as a whole; and interposition on behalf of others is not one of them. It seems, therefore, hardly correct to say that Israel was to be "a priest and a prophet to the rest of mankind."<sup>1</sup> A prophet it was to be, the power of its prophecy to man lying in this, that it was a priest to God. But Israel did not mediate between God and the Gentiles. It was constituted a kingdom of priests by the simple fact, that it had been selected from the rest of the nations in order that God might draw near to it in a grace not experienced by them; and that it might, in return, draw near to Him in a holy life and joyful confidence worthy of the grace received.

In the light of the passages now considered we seem justified in coming to the conclusion that the fundamental and essential meaning of the word "priest," as used in Scripture, is that of one who has the privilege of immediate access to God, and is able to take advantage of it with confidence and hope. The idea of mediation, of interposition with God on behalf of others, does not necessarily belong to the word. The priest may stand before God in his own name only, and may have his mind occupied with

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*—"Priests."

nothing but the relations between his Creator, Governor, and Friend upon the one hand, and himself as created, ruled, and cared for on the other. The man in whom these relations are fulfilled is not only a friend or child, he is at the same time a priest, of God.

It is not enough, however, to say this. The mode in which man draws near to God, or, in other words, performs his part of the covenant established by the Creator between Himself and His creature, has also to be considered. There is only one way of doing so in a manner corresponding to the circumstances of the case, and that is the way of *offering*. Even if we put aside for a moment the thought of sin, man has no equality of footing with Him to whom he owes both existence and its blessings. God is the giver, man is simply the receiver, of all good. When therefore man draws near to God, it must be as absolutely dependent upon His bounty, and with the feeling that, in surrendering alike what he is and what he has to the Being whose gift they are, he is only discharging an obligation imposed upon him by his creaturely position. This is the idea of offering. It is quite unnecessary that, at the point at which we are now contemplating it, there should be in it any thought of death. How that comes into the priestly offering we have yet to see. But, in the first instance, it is life, not death, with which we have to deal. The one due return to God for His unmerited favour is the man himself, with everything that makes him man and fills up the measure of his human existence. Death may be demanded as a penalty to violated law, but it can never rightly represent to us the position of either of the parties to a covenant of love and friendship. It takes one of the parties out of existence, and in the covenant both must live. The offering, therefore, made by the creature of himself, can be only that of life. Life, not death, must be the return with which as priests we draw near to God.



In strict conformity with this, accordingly, it will be remembered that in the ritual of the Old Testament the priest did not slay the victim. That was done by the offerer himself, and the work of the priest began with receiving the blood and sprinkling it upon the altar. Further, this blood was not the blood of death, an expression which would have been incomprehensible to the Hebrew mind. It was the blood of life. It was the living principle itself set free from every limiting or restraining influence, and in such a state that it could be brought into the nearest possible connexion with the living God, by being sprinkled upon that Mercy-seat which He occupied as a throne, or by being smeared upon the horns of His altar. In its primary conception, therefore, the duty of a priest was that of taking, not the life of others, but his own life in his hand, and offering it to God as due to Him when the creature responded to the offers of His mercy and entered into His covenant. Such was Israel's ideal state; and, had it been, as it ought to have been, realised, there would have been no room for a priestly caste. All the members of the community would have known that, in offering themselves to God, they could draw near Him with acceptance. In the essence and in the idea of his calling every Israelite would have been, and would have acted as, a priest.

This condition of things, however, was never actually realised. From the first the people were conscious of sin, and were afraid to take advantage of their privilege. When, at Sinai, they heard the noise of the trumpet and the thunder, when they saw the lightnings and the mountain smoking, they "removed and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die" (Exod. xx. 18, 19.) Their cry was heard; and first Moses himself, afterwards Aaron and his sons, and, finally, the whole line

of Aaron's descendants was appointed to express and exhibit what the people were unable to express and exhibit in themselves. So selected, they were to draw near to God, to enter into His tabernacle, to hold communion with Him, to present to Him His people's gifts and sacrifices, to intercede with Him on their behalf, and to obtain and convey to them His blessing. Thus the thought of mediation or intervention was introduced. The priest approached the Almighty not simply in his own name or to maintain his own personal communion with Him; He drew near the footstool of the Divine throne in the name of those who would not, or could not, draw near themselves. He was not a substitute for the people any more than he was a substitute for God. He was dealing with a covenant which had necessarily two parties to it, and he represented both,—on the one hand Israel offering itself to God, on the other hand God conferring His promised blessings upon Israel.

Important as the Levitical priesthood thus was, it was not an embodiment of the idea of Israel's priesthood in its widest and deepest sense. Like all the other parts of the Mosaic economy, it was a declension from higher and purer ideas that had gone before. It was an arrangement rendered necessary by the hardness of the people's hearts. It was a vessel within which a spiritual principle that, just because it was spiritual, knew no bonds, was confined for a time in a limited and straitened form, that it might not wholly perish. It looked forward to something better, for which in the meantime it prepared the way. The Levitical priest represented, as far as circumstances would allow, the idea of approach to God; but his existence as a member of a separate order was in one respect as much an imperfection and a weakness as in another respect it was a strength and a help to higher things.

Hence also the interesting fact that notwithstanding all

the fences by which the priest's office was protected from the intrusion of those who did not belong to the priestly line; notwithstanding the summary punishment inflicted upon Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the threatenings denounced against Saul when he ventured to offer sacrifice because the coming of Samuel was delayed;—there were yet occasions when these fences were with the Divine sanction broken through, and when the stamp of the Divine approbation was given to the priestly offerings of persons who had no legal right to make them. Samuel was a prophet, not a priest. There may be some doubt whether his father had not belonged to a family of Levi, but none that he had himself no connexion with the priesthood. Yet, when he instructed Saul to wait for him at Gilgal, he said, "And, behold, I will come down unto thee, to offer burnt offerings, and to sacrifice sacrifices of peace offerings" (1 Sam. x. 8). Saul expected him to do so; and the narrative leaves upon the mind the distinct impression that, but for what happened in the mean time, he would have done it (1 Sam. xiii. 8-14). When David, in like manner, brought up the ark of the Lord from the house of Abinadab to Jerusalem, we are told that he "offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord," and that "as soon as he had made an end of offering burnt offerings and peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts (2 Sam. vi. 17, 18). The combination of offering and blessing here spoken of leads directly to the thought that these priestly acts were performed by David as if he were a priest. In both cases they were in direct violation of the Divine system under which Israel lived, yet they were performed, with the Divine blessing resting upon them, in great crises of the nation's history. It would seem, therefore, as if we beheld in them an action of principles precisely analogous to that which meets us in the Transfiguration of our Lord. They were moments when the true glory of the heavenly and



ideal was permitted to shine through the limits of the actual, in order that those whose hearts were most in accordance with the former might have a visible representation of that by which and for which they were really living. Considerations of a similar kind may also perhaps explain the much disputed words of Psalm li. 19, "Then shalt Thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings: then shall they offer bullocks upon Thine altar." Is it not possible that these words may mean, "Then, when Thy people have all of them the spiritual mind described in the previous verses of the psalm, they shall all be priests"?

Whether this latter criticism be accepted or not, the bearing upon the point before us of what has been said is clear. It illustrates the fact that the essential idea of the priesthood is free access to, and union with, God; that the idea of intervention or mediation comes to be connected with it only through the existence of sin; and that the appointment of the priestly class in Israel was a deflection from a better state of things which would otherwise have wholly perished, was a temporary arrangement intended to guard against a still greater fall, and was no more than a guide towards a more perfect relationship, to be introduced in the future, between God seeking after man, and man seeking after God.

Yet it would be a mistake to imagine that the priestly idea, either in itself or in its connexion with the thought of mediation, can ever be dispensed with. In the latter aspect as well as in the former it will be always necessary because men have sinned, are conscious of sin, and can never forget, be their circumstances what they may, that they at least have been sinners. We are separated from God: we are afraid to approach Him: and we require some one in whom we may obtain access to the throne of the Divine Majesty, and may find that even to us it is a throne of grace. It is

not only in times of peculiar discouragement, or of deeper than ordinary reflection on our sinfulness, that we stand in need of priestly intervention. A sense of our need of it can never fail to be a part of the right attitude of the soul towards God. No doubt our Lord has said, "And in that day ye shall ask Me no questions: verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye shall ask anything of the Father, He shall give it you in My name" (John xvi. 23); *i.e.* in the day when the joy of His disciples shall be perfected, they shall ask nothing from their Lord in a spirit of curious questioning. With perfect trust in the Father Himself they shall approach Him, and He will give them what they ask. He has revealed Himself to them as their Father. He has given them "the right to become children [a deeper word here than sons] of God" (John i. 12). They shall receive what they require direct from the Father's hand. Yes; but even then the idea of intervention is included, *not* excluded, for all this is given "in the name" of Jesus. Believers shall then be so completely in Christ and one with Him that *in Him* they shall go immediately into the Father's presence. In other words, when the highest idea of union with God is fulfilled in the members of Christ's Body, it is in Christ that it is fulfilled. The members are one with the Father because the Father beholds them in the Son, and sees that they are one with Him. And so it is. At the highest point of human excellence, when most thoroughly persuaded of the freeness and fulness of that Divine grace which has been made ours, we dare never forget the rock out of which we were hewn, or the pit out of which we were digged. Even in heaven itself we must direct our eyes to the same thought, for He who is there followed by His redeemed is "the Lamb that was slain,"—slain for them. Thus deeply rooted, not in Israel only but in human necessities, is the idea of the priest and of priestly mediation.

One or two points in connexion with the idea of the priesthood still remain to be noticed, but our notice of them must be brief.

1. Two pre-requisites of the priesthood must be constantly borne in mind. In the first place a priest must be appointed by God Himself. For this alone can give man confidence that the Holy One of Israel desires that he should draw near into His presence. Would it be presumption in us to have boldness before the throne of the Almighty, it may be not less presumption in any other to whom we would appeal for help. Nay, it may be even more presumptuous, for he approaches God not for himself only but for us. He bears with him the accumulated load of the sins of all whom he represents; and nothing but a declaration from heaven that he has been divinely called to the priesthood can assure us that he will be accepted in what he does. In the second place, he must be one of ourselves, so connected with us and we with him, to such an extent sharer of our infirmities, that a foundation shall be laid for a union between us that shall be real, and not one of legal fiction only. An outward sacrifice might indeed be made by one whose nature was different from ours. A debt contracted in kind may be paid in money. But no outward sacrifice, however valuable, can effect that close and intimate union between God and man, which is alone worthy of Him and suitable to us. To rest *upon* such a sacrifice is not enough. We must be *in* it. We must appropriate it. In the most intimate way we must share the feelings, cherish the spirit, and enter into the work of the person who represents us. If this be not done, our reconciliation cannot be complete; and those deepest longings of the heart, which are not so much after the pardon of sin as after restoration to the Divine image, cannot be satisfied. Appointment by God and fellow feeling with man are the pre-requisites of the priesthood.



2. The functions of the priesthood must also be remembered.

(1) The most important of these was that of offering; and, although there were many and various offerings, that with which we have chiefly to deal was the offering of blood. In particular it was blood that upon the Great Day of Atonement, in which all the sacrifices of the year culminated, the high priest, the chief representative of the priesthood, took with him into the Most Holy Place that he might sprinkle it on the Mercy-seat. And this blood of the victim was that of its life, not its death. Upon no point in the whole ritual are the words of the law marked by less dubiety. "For the life of the flesh," it is said, "is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life" (Lev. xvii. 11). In bringing therefore the blood into the closest possible contact with God the priest brought the person whose life that blood represented into the same relationship. Sin was covered; the sinner was readmitted into communion with God; the breach between God and man was healed; the covenant, whether in its more superficial or more profound aspect, as the case might be, was restored.

(2) The second function of the priest was intercession for the people, yet not exactly intercession in the simple sense of prayer. At the time when Israel renounced its own priestly privileges, the words of the people to Moses had been, "Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die" (Exod. xx. 19). And when Moses, at a later date, recalled what had happened at that time, he used precisely similar language; the people, he tells us, had said to him, "Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say; and speak thou unto us all that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee" (Deut. v. 27). When Moses therefore acted as Israel's priest; when,

in their name and as their representative, he went into the presence of God, it was not merely to pray for them in the sense in which we use that word. It was to transact with God on their behalf. It was to confess their sins, to make known their wants, to give utterance to their praise. It was also to hear the answer of God, and to communicate that answer to the people. All this included more than prayer. It was the perfecting in detail of all the relations between Israel and its covenant King. It was the application of all the effects of a general condition of reconciliation to Israel's ever varying wants and weaknesses.

(3) The third function of the priest was to convey the Divine blessing to the people. He was not only the representative of the people to God, he was also the representative of God to the people. Therefore he brought back from the secret of the Divine presence the Divine answer to Israel's offerings and prayers. Inasmuch, too, as that answer proceeded from One reconciled to Israel, it naturally assumed the form of blessing. Hence the solemn formula which the priests were instructed to employ when "the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them,

The Lord bless thee and keep thee :

The Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee :

The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace" (Num. vi. 22-26).

Offering, intercession, blessing; such were the three functions of the priests of Israel; and not "through" or "with," but "in" these priests, or in the high priest again in his turn representing them, the great purpose of the ancient economy was attained. It was but a figure, after all, for the time then present. It dealt with the shadows of eternal truths rather than with those truths themselves.

But, such as it was, it was a type of better things to come; and, if it be given us to "fulfil" the ideas then partially embodied, it will be ours to know in its deepest sense the restoration of the broken covenant, and to reach, in spiritual union with God, the perfection and the glory of our being.

W. MILLIGAN.

## NOTES ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

(VIII.—XIV.)

VIII. 3. *ἐλυμαίνετο* does not signify either "*havock*" or "*waste*" of the Church as a body, as rendered in our versions; but personal outrage to individual men and women. It expresses the shameful and degrading treatment to which Christians were subjected. As the description was probably written on the authority of Paul himself, it is interesting to compare it with his language elsewhere. In 1 Tim. i. 13 he records with sorrow and shame his conduct at that season, and describes by the term *ὑβριστήν* the scornful insolence of his behaviour. *ὑβρις* expressed more of personal violence, *λύμη* of personal degradation; but the two are in this case nearly akin. *Saul was dealing shamefully with the Church*, while devout men were burying Stephen.

viii. 16. The incomplete baptism of these converts is designated as *into the name of Jesus* (*εἰς τ. ὄνομα*). The same phrase is adopted in xix. 5 to denote a similarly incomplete baptism, the gift of the Holy Spirit being in both cases subsequently conferred by the laying on of hands. The same phrase *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* is employed by St. Paul when repudiating the idea of baptism into his own name. It seems therefore to denote mere acknowledgment of Christ, and external admission into the body that bore His name,



apart from spiritual benefits. Full baptism is often said to be *in* the name of Christ (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι), but it was *into* the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

viii. 21. Peter's rebuke loses much of its significance by the translation of λόγος in our versions as *matter*. Τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ is emphatically "*this Word*," that is to say, the ministry of the Gospel, in which Simon was eager to take part. Before his baptism he had been a leader amidst the people by virtue of his magic arts: after his baptism it was still his ambition to be a leader in the name of the Gospel. He had watched with amazement the powers exercised by Philip, and conferred by the Apostles; and he now seeks to purchase for himself a like power, that he might become like them a leading preacher of the Word. Peter's rebuke, "*Thou hast neither part nor lot in this Word*," reminds us of his previous expression, *the lot of this ministry*, with reference to Judas (i. 17). The covetous spirit of Simon perhaps recalled the Apostle who fell through covetousness.

viii. 23. The rendering of εἰς χολήν in our versions, "*Thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity*," ignores the prep. εἰς and the absence of the article. Peter is no longer dwelling on the state of Simon's own heart: that had been dismissed with the previous warning, "*Thy heart is not right . . . therefore repent*." He has passed now to the effect which he foresaw that such a covetous spirit in a Christian professor must produce upon the Church. He saw already in spirit Simon serving as (εἰς) a root of bitterness that would canker the Church (Deut. xxix. 18; Heb. xii. 15), and becoming a centre round which iniquity would rally. Therefore he said in prophetic words to the future heresiarch, "*I see thou art as gall of bitterness, and a bond of iniquity*."

viii. 25. διαμαρτυράμενοι, if used absolutely apart from τὸν λόγον, as appears to be the case, is more forcible than

the "*testified*" of our versions: it was a term used in legal phraseology for a formal protest, and seems here to express the protest which the Apostles had made against Simon's pretensions to the ministry.

viii. 26. As the previous verses contained no distinct mention of Philip's return to Jerusalem with Peter and John, many readers might be led to suppose that he was still in Samaria when the angel spoke to him. But the position of Samaria and Gaza relatively to Jerusalem in almost opposite directions suggests that he must have already returned there; and the words of the angelic direction imply this: for he is told to go *on the way* to Gaza (ἐπί), not *unto the way*: which implies that he was at some point on the road; and since the road was desert, that point must be Jerusalem itself. Therefore a direction to go *to the south* would be superfluous, if not impossible; for he could go but one way, and that to the south-west. This leaves us no choice but to accept the marginal correction *at noon*; which is the natural rendering of κατὰ μεσημβρίαν; just as *about noon* is of περὶ μεσημβρίαν (xxii. 6). In this way the angelic direction becomes precise as to time and road: "*Arise and go at noon on the way . . .*" The explanatory addition, "*the same is desert*," proceeds evidently from the historian; and intimates that Philip would not have gone that way by his own choice, had he not received a revelation which guided him to it.

viii. 39. Many readers gather from the Authorized Version an impression that the eunuch saw Philip no more on account of some miraculous disappearance, expressed in the previous language, "*the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip*." The Revised Version suggests a simpler explanation of his seeing Philip no more; because the Spirit caught Philip away in another direction, while he went his way: the Greek text marks this still more clearly by the insertion of αὐτοῦ after τὴν ὁδόν, which means that

*he went his own way*, just as τ. ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν signifies *their own ways* in xiv. 16.

viii. 40. διερχόμενος describes Philip as *going about* from city to city between Azotus and Cæsarea to preach the gospel, just as διήλθον is used in v. 4; not merely *passing through*.

ix. 3. περιήστραψεν gives a more distinct description of the heavenly light than the English "*shone*." It was like a lightning flash in its sudden gleam of intense brightness. The language of xxii. 11 and xxvi. 13 agrees with this: "I could not see for the glory of that light," "a light . . . above the brightness of the sun."

ix. 4. The adoption of the Hebrew form Σαούλ of his name, not elsewhere used except by Ananias, is a striking corroboration of the statement, made in xxvi. 14, that the voice spake to him in Hebrew.

ix. 8. ἔβλεπεν οὐδέν signifies more than that he saw nothing: it implies loss of power to see, "*he could see nothing, but was led by the hand*."

ix. 17. There is a distinct reference in the imp. ἤρχου, *thou wert coming*, to the interruption of Saul's original journey. That journey was, in fact, never completed; for though he was afterwards led into Damascus, it was as quite another man, with altered thoughts and broken purpose.

ix. 22. Our versions speak of an *increase in strength*; but δύναμις was used to describe the powers given by the Spirit, and ἐνδυναμοῦν more or less distinctly recognises the agency of a strengthening God. μᾶλλον too asserts the growing power with which Saul was acted upon by the Spirit, "*he was more and more endued with power*."

ix. 27. διηγείσθαι is used in the Gospels and Acts for relating or telling a story; it implies a detailed narrative, but is often translated simply "*tell*." St. Luke in his preface calls his Gospel διήγησιν, *narrative*.



ix. 28. εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ can hardly mean simply "at Jerusalem." It implies apparently that the Apostles had their home without the walls, and were in the habit of visiting Jerusalem, going in and out daily: perhaps their home was still at Bethany, as in their Master's last days.

ix. 31. The rhythm of the Greek sentence is destroyed by any attempt to separate the two participles οἰκοδομουμένη and πορευομένη: as is evident even in the English translation of the Revised Version. Yet our versions have done this, in order to combine in a single clause the statement that they were "*walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost.*" Now the word πορευομένη refers to the external habits of life; it naturally takes a dative of the way in which a man walks; and the expression "*walking in the fear of the Lord,*" is a very distinct figure of speech to signify habits of godly living. But the figure is altogether obscured by the addition "*in the comfort of the Holy Ghost*"; for these words carry us out of the region of external practice into that of spiritual life, whose support and strength proceeds from the Holy Ghost. The true meaning is arrived at by joining them with ἐπληθύνετο, the word "multiplied" here denoting an increase of grace (and not of numbers); as in the phrases "the word of God multiplied" (Acts xii. 24), and "grace be multiplied" (1 Pet. i. 2). The whole then may be translated: *So the Church had peace, being built up and walking in the fear of the Lord: and multiplied in comfort of the Holy Ghost.*

ix. 35. Every thoughtful reader must be startled by the sweeping assertion that all the inhabitants of Lydda and the plain of Sharon turned to the Lord in consequence of the restoration of one paralytic, so inconsistent with all other experience of the effect of miracles, and so unlike the painstaking accuracy of the narrative in general. When we turn to the Greek text we find this assertion to depend

on the rendering of *οἷτινες*, and *they*. But *οἷτινες* cannot possibly be used, like a simple relative, as a mere copulative to connect together two historical facts. Either it refers to an indefinite body, as in *v. 16*; or, when it does refer to definite persons, it adds some fact bearing on their conduct or position, as being of a certain character or class. This verse can only be translated, "*all that dwelt at Lydda and in Sharon who had turned to the Lord, saw him.*" Naturally Æneas became better known to the Christian congregation, whom he probably joined after his restoration, than to other inhabitants; and they are quoted therefore as witnesses to the cure.

ix. 38. Our versions make the messengers from Joppa plead against *delay*. But *ὀκνεῖν* expresses hesitation or reluctance rather than delay; and the message as a whole implies that Peter had not determined on visiting Joppa at all till after the receipt of this urgent summons, "*Do not hesitate to come on this far.*"

x. 3. The Authorized Version leaves out *ὥσει* altogether, it is difficult to understand its meaning in the Revised Version, "*He saw . . . as it were about.*" But it has an important meaning in the Greek text: it signifies that the date "*about the ninth hour*" was not the hour at which he saw the vision, which was probably in the morning, as he sent the messengers off that day; but was itself part of the vision. The ninth hour was the hour of evening prayer; and as we learn from his own subsequent statement, he was in the habit of observing it. In his vision then he seemed to see an angel appearing to him at that hour as a direct response to prayer. The true rendering is, "*Cornelius saw in a vision distinctly an angel of God as it were about the ninth hour coming in.*" In order to lay greater stress upon this revelation of time as an important part of the vision, and an evidence of God's answer to prayer, the words *ὥσει περὶ . . .* are put before *ἄγγελον*.

x. 8. The word *rehearse* adopted in the Revised Version to render ἐξηγεῖσθαι is not more correct than *declare*. For rehearsal in Scripture language implied repetition of some written passage or previously spoken words. But ἐξηγεῖσθαι signifies explanation and instruction. In early Greek the title of ἐξηγηταί was reserved for interpreters of oracles and religious directors; in later times it was extended to regular *ciceroni*. There is an instance of its religious sense in John i. 18, where it describes the *instruction* given to men by the Son about the Father. Here it specifies the *instructions* given by Cornelius to his attendants for their mission.

x. 20. The clause ὅτι . . . depends on μηδὲν διακρινόμενος, *nothing doubting in thyself that I have sent them*. This is more briefly expressed in xi. 12 by μηδὲν διακρίναντα, *nothing doubting*; and the Authorized Version has rightly preserved the same verb there in translation; the middle voice merely indicates more distinct debates with himself about the matter.

x. 30, 31. The reader finds it difficult to follow in either of our versions the distinction which Cornelius is evidently drawing between what he calls *this hour*, i.e. the hour of his vision four days before and of Peter's arrival, and the ninth hour. The Revised Version has given the key to this by separating προσευχόμενος from ἡμην. The same phrase occurs again in xi. 5. "I was in the city of Joppa, praying"; even there it is not the same as προσευχόμεν, *I was praying*; and here it does not indicate that Cornelius was actually engaged in prayer at the time of the vision, but that he had until that time been in the habit of keeping the ninth hour by regular evening prayer. And accordingly in v. 31 the heavenly message refers to past prayer; for the Greek text has εἰσηκούσθῃ and ἐμνήσθῃσαν, *Thy prayer was heard, and thine alms were had in remembrance*; not *is heard and are had*, as in our versions.



x. 36. It is impossible to take τὸν λόγον, as it is taken in our versions, as governed by ὑμεῖς οἴδατε and repeated in τὸ ῥῆμα. The true reading seems certainly to be τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλεν, "*He sent His word*"; a familiar phrase borrowed by Peter from the Psalms (Ps. cvii. 20).

x. 37. The Authorized Version speaks of *that word which . . . began*, the Revised Version more correctly of *that saying . . . beginning*. But this use of a neuter τὸ ῥῆμα as the subject of ἀρχεσθαι is almost a solecism in Greek; while the alternative reading ἀρξάμενος has everything to recommend it, when once understood. ἀρξάμενος agrees with Ἰωάννης, and ὃ ἐκήρυξεν refers to ῥῆμα, not to βάπτισμα: so the passage becomes, "*Ye know the saying which was published throughout all Judæa, which John proclaimed beginning from Galilee after the baptism.*" It is true indeed that John proclaimed his baptism also; but what object could Peter have in mentioning so irrelevant a fact at Cæsarea! on the other hand *the saying which he proclaimed, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism, about Jesus of Nazareth, that God had anointed Him*, was a powerful evidence for his argument; for John the Baptist was well remembered in Galilee, and his testimony to Jesus was likely still to carry weight amidst these devout Gentiles at Cæsarea.

x. 41. The expression προκεχειροτονημένοις is very peculiar as applied to a Divine choice; for χειροτονεῖν signifies literally a show of hands, and so was used of a popular election. The only explanation I can suggest is that all appointments in the Church at this time were made by popular election, whether of candidates for the vacant place amidst the Twelve, of deacons, or of presbyters, and that God's choice of these witnesses was regarded as an anticipation of that election by the Church. The application of προχειρίζειν to Divine ordination is analogous.

x. 47, xi. 18. The Authorized Version ignores the article

in both these verses, *the water*, and *the repentance unto life*; the Revised Version inserts it in the former case. Can any man forbid *the water*, it is argued, which is the less important requisite for baptism, to men who have received from God the witness of the Spirit, which is the higher requisite? So in the latter passage the statement that God had bestowed on them the Pentecostal gift, calls forth the comment that God had bestowed on the Gentiles also *the repentance unto life* which was the essence of that gift.

xi. 19. The Revised Version has rightly banished the word *persecution*, of which no mention is here made, and substituted *tribulation* (θλίψεως). The passage speaks of those *that were scattered abroad after (ἀπό) the tribulation that befell them in the matter of Stephen*, meaning thereby especially the death of Stephen, which was the climax of *that tribulation*.

xi. 26. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, does not mean *with the Church*, nor does συναχθῆναι mean *assembling themselves*, when said of two persons only. The passage is directly concerned with the personal work of Paul and Barnabas, as appears from the previous words, *it befell them*, and from the subsequent statement that they *taught much people*. It relates the important fact that the two *were brought together for a whole year in the Church*: and it thereby suggests that they were so brought together for a year as fellow labourers by way of providential preparation for the great mission which they were afterwards to undertake. Their intimate association at Antioch is regarded as a special providence for the enlargement of the Church.

xii. 1. Κατά marks a definite point of time, as already noticed in comparing the angel's precise direction to Philip, *at noon go*, with the looser description of time given in xxii. 6, *about noon*. In this place κατά notes a coincidence in time between the exodus of prophets from Jerusalem before referred to (xi. 27), and the persecution of Herod, which

probably occasioned it. There is reason to believe that the famine and the visit of Barnabas and Saul took place later after Herod's death. ἐπέβαλεν does not mean that he *put forth*, but that he *laid his hands upon certain of the Church to entreat them evil*.

xii. 12. The ordinary meaning of συνιδών is not to *consider*, as rendered in our versions; but to *become aware* (compare 2 Macc. iv. 41; xiv. 26, 30). It occurs in xiv. 6 with that sense; and there is no reason for departing from it here. When Peter became aware of the true state of the case, he went to the house of Mary.

xii. 19. The reading ἀποκτανθῆναι, *put to death*, which is followed in the Authorized Version, is probably not correct: ἀπαχθῆναι does not imply that the guards were led away to death, but to prison.

xiii. 10. The translation of our versions, "*pervert the right ways of the Lord*," misses the distinctness of the Greek διαστρέφων, *turn aside the straight paths of the Lord*; which denounces the attempt of Elymas to interfere with the successful progress of the gospel.

xiii. 11. The translation of our versions, *for a season*, ignores the meaning of ἄχρι and of καιρός, both in this passage and in Luke iv. 13. For ἄχρι, which occurs fifty times in the New Testament, always means *until* or *within* the limits of some definite period; and καιρός denotes the right season or proper opportunity for something. In both places the literal rendering *until the time* gives excellent sense. Elymas was smitten with blindness until God's appointed time came for relieving him from the punishment.

xiii. 17. The word *exalted* gives a false description of God's dealings with Israel in Egypt. ὑψωσεν signifies that he *lifted up* His people out of bondage and misery, just as the head of Jehoiachin was *lifted up* out of prison (2 Kings xxv. 27), and as God *lifts up* from the gates of death (Ps. ix. 13).



xiii. 18. There are two readings here: ἐτροποφόρησε, *he suffered their manners*, and ἐτροφοφόρησε, *he bare them as a nursing father*. Neither the MSS nor the context are decisive here between the two: but the context of Deut. i. 31, from which this is quoted, distinctly points to a father bearing with a wayward son. And in 2 Macc. vii. 27, where the same question recurs, it describes a mother's forbearance with a grown up son. The image of Num. xi. 12 is quite distinct from these in language and meaning. Our versions appear therefore to be correct.

xiii. 19, 20. The reading adopted in the Authorized Version makes the government of Judges to have lasted about 450 years: the more correct reading, as translated in the Revised, gives Israel an inheritance of 450 years before the time of the Judges. Both assertions are hopelessly at variance with the chronological data furnished by the Old Testament; the most definite of which gives 480 years between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's temple (1 Kings vi. 1). But when we turn to the Greek text, we find, not an acc. ἔτη, as in *v.* 21 and *v.* 18, marking *duration* of time, but a dative ἔτεσιν, which states the *limit of time within* which the Israelites got possession of their inheritance. Hence it becomes clear that the speaker is not referring to the length of time during which the Israelites were governed by Judges, or enjoyed their inheritance, but to the length of time expended in its acquisition. Now the period of conquest extended nearly to the end of David's reign, which according to the above chronology was 436 years, and is therefore correctly computed as *within about 450 years*. μετὰ ταῦτα, *after these things* in *v.* 20 means of course after the events of Moses and Joshua's time just recorded; and the history is taken up from that time without reference to the loose limit of years expended in the gradual occupation of the land.

xiii. 22. μεταστήσας does not mean *when he had removed*,

as in our versions, but *removing*; for the removal of Saul and the rise of David went on together from the sentence of deposition which Samuel pronounced on him till his final defeat and death.

xiii. 25. John the Baptist's disclaimer of personal authority and his testimony to the coming Messiah were not limited to a single assertion, but were features of his habitual teaching. This is expressed by the imperfect ἔλεγεν: *as he fulfilled his course, he used to say*.

xiii. 27. Our versions make both τοῦτον and τ. φωνάς depend on ἀγνοήσαντες, *they knew him not, nor the voices of the prophets*. But the two kinds of ignorance are very distinct. The failure to recognise him as the Messiah is well expressed by τοῦτον ἀγν.; but their failure to understand the language of the prophets was quite a different sort of ignorance, requiring a different verb to express it. Apparently καί is not a copulative, and τ. φωνάς is governed by ἐπλήρωσαν, "*because they knew him not, they even fulfilled the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day in condemning him*."

xiii. 41. The context of this passage in Habakkuk (i. 5) shows that the word ἀφανίσθητε does not mean *vanish away* like a mist, as suggested in the margin of the Revised, but *perish* by the sudden destruction which he foretells at the hands of the Chaldees. This work of destruction to come he pronounces so incredible that *ye will not believe it, though a man should tell you the whole story* (ἐκδιηγῆται) as a narrative of actual events. The Apostle addresses to the unbelieving Jews of his own day the same warning of coming retribution.

xiii. 48. Our versions use the term *ordained to eternal life*, as if they were translating προωρισμένοι or προκεχειρισμένοι: but τεταγμένοι is a military term which denotes assignment to a definite post, or to specific duties; and cannot therefore describe a purpose of God. The word

is suggested by the position which the rival partisans had taken up: they had marshalled themselves like two opposing armies, one for, and the other against, the Apostles; it is used like *ἔταξαν ἑαυτοὺς* in 1 Cor. xvi. 15, *as many as had set themselves unto eternal life*.

xiv. 1. Our versions translate *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό* *together*. Now it is true that it does sometimes mean *together*; as *e.g.* in 1 Kings iii. 18, where special stress is laid on the identity of the two mothers' position and circumstances. But to connect *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό* in this place with the following clause, and find in it an emphatic statement that Paul and Barnabas went *together* into the synagogue is out of the question. It is really used, like *κατὰ τὰ αὐτά* in Luke vi. 23, 26, for *in the same way*; and belongs to the previous clause. It came to pass in Iconium, just as it had in Antioch, that they began to preach with great success in the synagogue, but were afterwards hindered by the jealousy of the unbelieving Jewish faction.

xiv. 2. In the second clause of this verse the Revised Version leaves out *τ. ψυχάς*, the Authorized translates it *minds*; and both translate *ἐκάκωσαν*, *evil affected*. But the meaning of both words is very distinct. *κακοῦν* is *to do harm*; generally both in the LXX and in the New Testament bodily harm and ill-treatment; but *ἐκακώθη Μωυσῆς* in Ps. cv. (cvi.) 32 expresses a kindred thought to this, *viz.* that Moses was damaged throughout his life by the sin to which the Israelites provoked him at Meribah. Moreover *ψυχή* means the soul or the spiritual life. The Jews by their factious opposition injured the souls of the Gentiles, whom they stirred up against the brethren.

xiv. 3. Our versions make *παρρ. ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ* to mean *in the Lord*; but this would be expressed by the familiar phrase *ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ*. It may perhaps mean that they spoke boldly about the Lord, as their teaching at this time was specially devoted to the courageous vindication of Jesus'



claim to be the Messiah. But the more obvious sense of the preposition is that they spoke boldly in reliance upon the Lord.

xiv. 5. Our versions speak of an *assault* or *onset* made by the Jews; but the context points to an *intention* only, for it is said that Paul and Barnabas became aware of it, and escaped. In the only other passage of the New Testament where ὁρμή occurs, it denotes an impulse or intention of the will (Jas. iii. 4): and it probably does so here.

xiv. 9. The imperfect ἤκουεν claims attention here. The cripple *was listening* to Paul preaching, and it was apparently this attention which showed the Apostle that he had faith to be healed, and led him accordingly to fix his eyes upon him and address him.

xiv. 15. Our versions translate ὁμοιοπαθεῖς of *like passions*; but the derivatives of πάθος denote the whole tone of feeling and general bent of a man's nature, not merely his passions. The marginal translation "*of like nature*" is therefore more correct.

xiv. 17. God's witness of Himself to the Gentiles is presented as not limited to the past, *He did good and gave you*, . . . but as continuing up to the present time; and an appeal is thus made to all who experienced His bounty in their own lives: *He does good and gives you*. . . .

xiv. 19. The full force of ἐπί should be expressed in rendering ἐπηλθαν, for it denotes the vindictive pertinacity with which the Jews of Antioch and Iconium *came after* Paul and Barnabas, wherever they went; they followed their steps with relentless animosity.

xiv. 23. The translation of χειροτονήσαντες in our versions *ordained* (*appointed*) gives an impression of an authoritative choice on the part of Paul and Barnabas. But the word implies a popular election. And we must conclude from its use here that Paul and Barnabas held an assembly of each church for the election of elders, and took the votes

of the congregation. They acted simply as presidents, sanctioning the proceedings, and commending the newly chosen elders to the Lord with prayer. The same course was followed in the choice, first of Barsabbas and Matthias, then of the Seven.

F. RENDALL.

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## XII.

### GENERAL REVIEW OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

THE Epistles of Paul were the completion and confirmation of his missionary work. It sometimes happened that his stay in a place where he had founded a Church was brought to an abrupt end before he had been able to complete the whole course of teaching which he proposed to give. Hence, when any difficulty arose, and was referred to him by such a Church, he endeavoured to supply the need of further teaching by a letter. In this way the two Epistles to the Thessalonians came to be written. Or it might be that his doctrine or his personal character was impugned in one of the Churches that he had founded, and he was constrained to take up his pen in defence of the truth, lest its very foundations should be shaken. This is the key to the Epistle to the Galatians and the two Epistles to the Corinthians. At other times some personal matter led him to write either to a particular Church or to a particular member, as when he sent his thanks to the Philippians for their loving ministrations to his need, or when he desired to commend Onesimus to the kindness of Philemon. Sometimes at the request of a third person, the Apostle addressed letters to Churches which he had neither founded nor visited; such were the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, and that to the Romans.

Do we possess all the Epistles written by St. Paul? It has been argued that it must be so, since God would never have permitted any writings inspired by His Spirit to be lost. But why may not an inspired writing have had a purely temporary and local value, so that those who compiled the canon may not have thought it necessary to perpetuate it? It appears to us clear that in 1 Cor. v. 9-11 there is a reference to a letter which has not come down to us, and that such is the case also with that other epistle of which Paul speaks in detail in 2 Cor. ii. 1-4; vii. 8-12. If we are not prepared to refer the words in 2 Thess. iii. 17, "The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle, so I write," to some unknown letters yet to be written (which would seem a rather forced interpretation), we must conclude that he had already written some which have not been preserved.

As to other Epistles of Paul's still extant, and not included in the New Testament canon, such as an Epistle to the Corinthians discovered in Aramaic, another addressed to the Laodiceans (which has even crept into some Bibles of the middle ages); or the supposed correspondence between Paul and Seneca, of which Jerome and St. Augustine speak, and the genuineness of which has recently found advocates; all these are only poor compilations of words taken from the authentic Epistles of St. Paul, and altogether destitute of that impress of originality which marks all the true writings of the Apostle. The first of these spurious writings is based upon 1 Cor. v. 9; the second on Col. iv. 16, which really refers to what we call the Epistle to the Ephesians. The correspondence with Seneca was suggested by the mention (Acts xviii. 12) of the arrival in Corinth, during Paul's sojourn there, of the Proconsul Gallio, brother of Seneca, and by the account of the Apostle's citation to appear before him.



Of the fourteen Epistles contained in our canonical collection, one only—that to the Hebrews—appears to us not to bear either in form or substance the marks of Pauline authorship. This is also the only Epistle with regard to which the tradition of the primitive Church is doubtful. The genuineness of the other thirteen Epistles seems to us assured on the ground both of internal evidence and of concurrent tradition.

In studying each of these Epistles separately, we have tried to determine the time and place of their writing. Under this head we divide them into four groups: The first group comprising the two Epistles to the Thessalonians written during the journey on which Paul founded the Churches of Greece (A.D. 52–54); the second, comprising the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Romans, which were written during Paul's stay at Ephesus, and his visit to the Churches of Greece (A.D. 54–59); the third, comprising the Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians, and lastly, that to the Philippians, which dates from Paul's Roman captivity (A.D. 62–64); the fourth group, consisting of what are called the three Pastoral Epistles, and belonging to the period which followed the Apostle's liberation and immediately preceded his death (A.D. 64–66).

We have arrived at this chronological arrangement by the particular study of each letter on its own merits. It remains for us to see whether this grouping is borne out by a review of all the Epistles collectively. Let us first inquire: What is the nature of the subjects treated in each of these groups?

We all know what was the engrossing subject of thought in the primitive Church, what was the object of supreme desire, the source of the liveliest joy, and the most powerful stimulus to Christian faithfulness. It was the promise made by Christ to the Apostles of His glorious return.

He had always refused to fix the date of that event; He had said, "Of that day and of that hour knoweth no man; no, not the Son"; but He had charged His followers to live in the attitude of continual expectation. This charge, as it fell from His lips, had a purely moral significance; but prompted by a very natural impatience, the early Christians took it to mean that the end was at hand, and that the temporal kingdom of Christ would immediately be set up. The Apostles themselves had no exact idea of the interval between the Ascension and the second coming of the Lord, as we gather from Matt. xxiv. and Mark xiii. where the Evangelists closely connect the destruction of Jerusalem, as the first act of judgment, with the return of Christ. The revelation which they had received as to the coming of the Lord related in truth wholly to the fact, not to the date.

Under these circumstances nothing could be more natural than that the principal subject treated in the first group of Pauline letters, should have been that of the return of the Lord at the close of the existing economy. Some misconceptions had thus arisen, and the difficulties were referred to the Apostle. He reminded the Thessalonians of the teachings they had forgotten, and added new and valuable suggestions. In the first Epistle, he takes up the bright glorious aspect of the end of all things—the coming of Christ; in the second, he looks at the dark terrible side of the same event—the era of antichrist, which is to precede the full manifestation of the Lord.

But soon this eager expectation of the early Church, while it does not wholly die away, gives place to more urgent questions of a spiritual nature. What are the essentials of Christianity? what is the Gospel as opposed to the existing religions—Judaism and paganism? These are questions which become of vital moment to the Church as it expands and develops. They form therefore

the theme of the second group of letters. The great fact of salvation is treated in the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans; the nature of the Church and the order which ought to prevail in it is the subject of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; the Christian ministry is the theme of the second Epistle. These three Epistles—the two to the Corinthians and that to the Romans—form a sort of trilogy, exhibiting in logical sequence the salvation offered by the Gospel, the Church which is entrusted with the Gospel, the ministry which is to build up the Church.

In proportion as the Church appropriates salvation, and seeks to realise it, as the gift of God in Jesus Christ, it necessarily led to ask, Who is this through whom God has been pleased to accomplish so great a work? Questions bearing on the personality of Christ naturally arise in the hearts of believers who are saved by Him. This then is the leading subject of the third group. St. Paul abandons himself to a kind of Christian speculation which he calls *wisdom*. If, as he has shown in an earlier group, the Gospel is folly in the eyes of those who perish, it is none the less the wisdom of God, the revelation of the Divine plan, in the eyes of those who are saved. In the fact of the redemption wrought by Christ and interpreted by the Divine Spirit, the believer apprehends something of the thought present in the mind of the Creator of the universe, and of the sublime destiny of man. He by whom all things were created is also the Reconciler of all, the One who gathers together all things in Himself, that He may deliver them again to the Father in perfect subjection, so that God may be all in all. Christ then is at once Creator and Redeemer, the Alpha—the originating principle of the universe—and the Omega, its end. These are deep things which, as Chrysostom points out, Paul never preached, but they are unfolded in the third group of Epistles.

After having thus explained all that had been revealed



to him as to the fact of salvation and the person of Him by whom it was wrought out, the Apostle, seeing that his end was at hand, naturally turned his attention to the future of the Church on earth. He asks how it is to be maintained, as a society, when deprived of those who called it into being and who guided its infant life. The letters of the third and fourth group consist mainly of the answer to this question. Paul lays down as a condition of the continued life and growth of the Church, that it should be sustained by the ministry of pastors and deacons. He institutes therefore a primary office for maintaining the preaching of gospel truth, and its application to the needs of individuals; and a secondary office for attending to temporal necessities either in the Church or in the world. These two ministries thus represent faith and charity, the two essential elements of the life of the Church and the conditions of its influence in the world. The Apostles live on indeed in their writings, but personally they pass away. The prophets have bequeathed their message to the Church, but they too are no more. The simple preaching of the gospel by evangelists or missionaries outside the Church, and by pastors and teachers within it, this is the ministry that is to be perpetuated till the Lord's return.

If we needed any confirmation of the results at which we have already arrived from a study of the particular Epistles, surely we have it in this perfect harmony between the successive requirements of the apostolic Church in the course of its development, and this series of four groups of Epistles which respond so naturally to these needs as they arise.

We shall observe the same natural gradation among these groups, if we study more closely the manner in which particular subjects are treated in them.

Let us look first at the relation of the Church to Judaism.

In the first group, Judaism is entirely outside the Church, and avowedly hostile to it, obstructing, as far as it can, the preaching of the Gospel among the Gentiles. In this way it "fills up its sins alway," as the Apostle says (1 Thess. ii. 16), "and brings wrath upon itself to the uttermost."

In the second group, a new phase presents itself. A Jewish faction, which has found its way into the Church, makes a great effort to bring in Mosaism. In the mother Church at Jerusalem there arises a party, which seeks to avail itself of the expansive power of the Gospel among the Gentiles, in order to make Judaism also a world-wide religion. Missions among the Gentiles are recognised, but on this condition that the newly baptised shall be circumcised, and incorporated with Israel by accepting the Jewish law, which would thus become cosmopolitan. Judaism lays down its hostility and becomes Christian, but only on condition that Christianity shall become Jewish. This is the wolf in the sheep's clothing, the Pharisaic principle of justification by works claiming to be the gospel. In the Epistle to the Galatians, the conflict is declared. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians it seems that one of the leading Churches founded by Paul is on the verge of apostasy, but in the end it is won back by the Apostle. The Epistle to the Romans is like the song of victory after this sharp contest.

The third group shows us Judaism still seeking to make itself master of the Gospel, but under a new guise. It is no longer the mode of justification which is challenged. The question is no longer asked, faith or works? grace or merit? Judaism presents the Mosaic law to believers as a principle of sanctification and illumination far superior to the methods offered by Paul's gospel. The ordinances of Moses are a ladder by which the Church can more speedily climb to a height at which the flesh shall be brought unto subjection and the spirit set free. More than

this, the believers will thus be brought into direct relation with the heavenly spirits, and will attain through them more excellent revelations than those of the simple gospel. This manner of looking at the law naturally derogated from the dignity of Christ as the one Mediator between God and the believing soul, and relegated Him to the second rank, below the angels, His creatures. Paul is constrained, especially in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, to vindicate the supremacy of Christ, and to show that in fellowship with Him was the source of all perfection and spiritual illumination, of all true holiness and wisdom worthy of the name.

The attitude of Judaism in the first group of Epistles was, as we have shown, purely Jewish. The form of Judaizing heresy which we trace in the second group was Pharisaic in character. In the third group it assumed the form of Essenism. The fourth group brings before us the same errors under a more complicated, subtle, and artificial form. There is a tendency to frivolity, almost to profanity, such as characterises the Judaism of the Kabbala. Judaizing heresy sinks into charlatanism. Pretended revelations are given as to the names and genealogy of angels; absurd ascetic rules are laid down as "counsels of perfection," while daring immorality defaces the actual life. Paul would not condescend to discuss or to refute heresies like these. He simply appeals to the moral sense of the Christians, and charges them to be faithful to it.

Such, in brief review, are the various phases of the relations of Judaism with the Church in the transition time which preceded the fall of Jerusalem. They fully confirm the view taken by us of the scope and sequence of the various Epistles. We are led to the same conclusion, if we examine the development of ecclesiastical functions during the period covered by these thirteen Epistles.

In the Epistles to the Thessalonians, "spiritual gifts" are

first spoken of. See 1 Thess. v. 19, where we read of manifestations of the Spirit, and specially of prophesyings. Side by side with this, allusion is made to the existence of certain offices in the Church. In the same chapter (v. 12) we read of "those who labour among you, and are over you in the Lord and admonish you." But such expressions as these show that Church organisation was still very elementary.

In the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, the offices in the Church seem of quite secondary importance; the free gifts, the spontaneous manifestations of the Spirit, are the prevailing power in the life of the Church. The expression in Gal. iii. 5 is remarkable. But it is chiefly at Corinth (1 Cor. xii.-xiv.) that the manifestation of spiritual gifts reaches its highest development. The words used in Rom. xii. 3-8 show that in Rome also there was a preponderance of gifts, but in a far less degree than at Corinth.

In the third group the official functions are clearly in the ascendant. In Eph. iv. 11, 12, after speaking of the Apostles, in whom the gift and the office were united, and of the prophets whose gift alone seems to have been perpetuated, the Apostle only mentions evangelists (missionaries) and pastors, who are both office-bearers in the Church. The title of teachers, however, applied to the pastors, seems to point to the gift of teaching mentioned at Corinth. In the Colossians we find no mention of gifts. Paul only speaks of pastors such as Epaphras and Archippus his successor, and of Nymphas at Laodicea. The Epistle to the Philippians is addressed to the pastors and deacons; there is not the slightest allusion from beginning to end to "spiritual gifts."

Lastly, in the Pastoral Epistles we find mention only of the gift of teaching, which tends more and more to be merged in the office of elder or pastor, as in Eph. iv. 11.



It is to the pastoral office thus endowed that Paul entrusts the future of the Church until the day of Christ.

What more simple and rational if we reflect on it, than this gradual development of Church life, harmonising exactly, as we have seen it does, with the tenor of the thirteen Epistles.

There remains one point more for us to inquire into, How does Paul speak of the coming of Christ?

In the earlier Epistles, whilst disavowing any attempt to fix beforehand the time of that event, he yet expresses himself in such a way as to make us think that he expects to live to witness the second coming. "We that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord." It must be observed, however, that this expression is not so positive in Greek as the translation would lead us to suppose. The exact meaning is, "We, the living, *i.e.* those who are left unto the coming of the Lord." He does not include all the Christians then living, among those who will remain. How, indeed, could Paul have supposed that of all the Christians living at the time when he wrote, not a single one would die before the second coming? And if he could not affirm this of others, neither could he of himself. It must then be admitted that the clause, "those who are left," is restrictive of the foregoing words, "we that are alive," and implies those, at least, who remain. But in any case, the expression used implies the possibility that Paul might himself live to see the event. So also in 1 Cor. xv. 32. "The dead shall be raised, and we shall be changed." Yet in the same Epistle, ch. vi. 14, Paul speaks of himself not among the living who shall be "changed," but among the dead who shall be raised. "God both raised the Lord and will raise up us through His power" (*ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ*). In Philippians Paul seems divided between the expectation of martyrdom and that of a speedy deliverance; and he asks the Philippians to rejoice if he is permitted to sprinkle with

his blood the sacrifice and service of their faith. Lastly, in the Pastoral Epistles, he anticipates a long continuance of the Church upon earth after the death of the Apostles. For this reason he urges the settlement of pastors over the Churches generally, and of himself he says, "The Lord will save me unto His heavenly kingdom" (2 Tim. iv. 18); which shows that he no longer expected to live to see the second coming. In this respect also, therefore, we see a marked gradation confirming the chronological order of the four groups of Epistles.

We shall not attempt to go into any detailed criticism of St. Paul's style of writing. This would involve an analysis of Paul's own character, for no man ever threw himself so completely into his writings as this Apostle. I shall only allude here to two points: the deep unity underlying the whole of this correspondence, and at the same time the contrasts which abound in it.

The one theme of all the Epistles is that which Paul calls *my Gospel*. It is the setting forth of the salvation wrought by Christ, with its two distinctive characters—freeness and universality, and its three essential elements—justification, sanctification, and glory. Every word Paul has written tends to commend this perfect salvation, the gift of grace without human merit, offered, therefore, to all alike, without regard to their antecedents. Paul, the former persecutor of the Church, felt truly that he was the normal example of this free salvation; and his life and his letters were alike consecrated to its defence and proclamation. However much the style of Paul may vary in other respects, it has one uniform characteristic—that it is always and everywhere the exact expression and fitting garb of his thought. If the style is laboured, it is only through the desire to faithfully convey the thought of the writer to the readers. There is never any self-seeking or any attempt

at self-glorification in the writings of Paul. "The love of Christ constraineth me," describes the inspiration of his letters no less than of his life.

May I say a word in passing on the traces of Rabbinism which have often been supposed to be traceable in the writings of Paul. As to the form of his argument, I do not pretend to deny the influence of the teaching under which he had been brought up. The questions abruptly addressed to the reader, recall the form of teaching in use between Rabbis and their disciples. The short series of sentences logically following one another, like the terms of a syllogism, remind one of those short explanations called by the Jews *Midrasch*, which give in a few words the epitome of a subject, as in 1 Cor. xv. 56, Rom. x. 14, 15. The quotations of Scripture, which bring the very marrow of the text to bear upon the matter in hand, are unquestionably after the Rabbinical method. But St. Paul does not allow himself to be so carried away by his argument, as to put into the words that which they do not really contain. This charge has been brought against Gal. iii. 16; iv. 24, *et seq.* I have already endeavoured to show that a careful exegesis vindicates Paul from this accusation brought against him by those who only study his writings literally and superficially. The disciple of Gamaliel had undergone too radical a change to retain more of the teaching of his old master than certain modes of thought and expression. I may add that such passages as Gal. iii. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 8, which are simply borrowed from Jewish tradition, cannot be regarded as really characteristic of Paul's own style.

On the other hand, while we trace this unity of subject, form, and intention, what a variety do we find in the products of the Apostle's literary labours! If it is true that a man is great in proportion to the multiplicity and diversity of his gifts, it must be difficult, even from a purely human standpoint, to find in history a writer superior or even equal

to St. Paul. With what depth of view and breadth of feeling, with what aptness, fulness, and variety of application, does he treat the one great theme! It is difficult to conceive how there could be united in one person so much intellectual vigour and penetration, with such warmth of feeling, power of imagination, quickness of intuition, and sound practical judgment. By these manifold endowments Paul is fitted to be all things to all men, and to exercise a many-sided apostleship. He appears as a prophet in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, to whom he unveils the final issues of the present economy. In his Epistle to the Galatians, he is the skilful dialectician, disentangling the webs of error in which they had been craftily caught. To the Corinthians, he writes in his first Epistle as a pastor, resolving with admirable wisdom the practical problems which arose out of the first impact of Christianity with paganism. In the second Epistle to the same Church, he vindicates the authority of his ministry as an Apostle of Christ. In the Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, and Colossians, he is the consummate teacher, setting forth his gospel to the Churches in which he had not been able to preach himself. In the Pastoral Epistles, he appears as the far-seeing organiser of the Church of the future. To the Philippians, he writes as a tender father to dear children, words of exhortation and loving gratitude. To Philemon, he writes as to a brother from whom he has a brotherly service to ask.

It would be hard to say whether the Paul, whom we learn to know from these thirteen letters, is more remarkable for the unity or the variety of his life-work. In him we see brought out in full relief, all the perfections latent in Him who was Paul's model, or more truly his very life, and of whom he said to his disciples, "Be ye imitators of me, even as I am of Christ."

F. GODET.



## *THE WHITE RACE OF ANCIENT PALESTINE.*

OSBURN, an accurate observer in such matters, stated some years ago that the Amorites were depicted by the Egyptian artists with "the eyes blue, the eyebrows and beard red." The statement is important, since exposure and the ravages of man are fast destroying the colours which once covered the great monuments of Thebes. When, the winter before last, Mr. Flinders Petrie undertook to take photographs and casts of the various races represented upon the walls of the tombs and temples, he could no longer find any direct confirmation of Osburn's statement. At the Ramesseum the Hittites are painted orange, at Medinet Abu their skin is of a "dark brownish yellow"; and it is only in the tomb of Rekh-mâ-ra that we can still see that their eyes were brown, while their hair was black. They thus stand in contrast to the people of Keft or Phœnicia, whose eyes are black and their hair light brown. A still greater contrast is presented by the chief of Kadesh on the Orontes, the southern capital of the Hittite tribes. His skin is white, while his eyes and hair are alike of a light red-brown, and he therefore belongs specifically to what is known as the white race.

Now Kadesh, though occupied by the Hittites, is described as being "in the land of the Amâur," or Amorites. Since its chief, according to the artists of Rekh-mâ-ra, was not distinguished by the ethnical peculiarities of the Hittites, we must consider him to have sprung from the older Amorite population of the land. Apart from the colour of their skin and hair, the features of these Amorites are well known to us from Egyptian representations. The Amorite was dolicho-cephalic, his nose was large and prominent, and his chin ended in a short, pointed beard. If we add to this the blue eyes described by Osburn, we

have a figure which reminds us of the Kabyles of northern Africa.

These Kabyles offer a striking appearance to the traveller who sees them for the first time. Their clear white skins, covered with freckles, their blue eyes and light hair, their tall and shapely stature, make him believe himself once more in some English or Irish village. We need not wonder that at one time they were regarded as descendants of the Vandal conquerors of the Roman provinces in Africa. But however satisfactory this explanation seemed at first sight to be, it was soon found to be untenable. The skull and skeleton of the modern Kabyle resemble those of the prehistoric inhabitants of the country whose remains are buried in the cromlechs of the later stone and earlier bronze ages. Moreover the Egyptian monuments have revealed to us the fact that the Lebu, or Libyans, who fought against the Pharaohs centuries before the Vandal invasion were a white-skinned, fair-haired population. It is therefore evident that the Kabyles are the descendants of the early inhabitants of northern Africa, and that their physical characteristics are not due to the importation of foreign elements from the north of Europe, but are the inheritance they have received from their remote forefathers. As far back as our monumental evidence extends, the northern coast of Africa was peopled by a portion of the white race.

The traveller in Palestine meets with the same indications of the presence of a white race as does the traveller in northern Africa. The first time I visited the country I was struck by the fact that blue-eyed, fair-haired children are to be found, alike in the plains and in the mountains, in the crowded cities and in the most remote villages. At the time I ascribed their physical characteristics to the influence of the crusades, and imagined them to be the descendants of immigrants from Europe. It was but re-

peating in another form the explanation which saw in the Kabyles the children of the Vandals.

Last winter I made a journey overland from Jerusalem to Egypt by the ancient "way of the Philistines." Between Gaza and El-Arish, the frontier town of Egypt, it was impossible not to notice the numerous examples of fair-complexioned, red-haired men with whom I met. More particularly I had an opportunity of examining the present sheikh of El-Arish. Like myself, he was on his way to Egypt, and for two successive nights he joined our camel-drivers as they sat round their camp-fire. Time after time I watched the profile of his face, and time after time I thought that the Amorite chief depicted by an Egyptian artist of Ramses III. on the walls of Medinet Abu had once more awakened to life. The slightly retreating forehead, the peculiar nose, the pointed beard at the end of the chin were all there in the living sheikh of El-Arish as they were in the Egyptian portrait of the chief of the Amorites.<sup>1</sup> The sheikh might have been the model whom the Egyptian artist portrayed.

The characteristics of race, when once fixed, are extraordinarily permanent, and it is no more surprising to find the features of the ancient Amorites still surviving in the population of modern Palestine than it is to find that six thousand years have made no perceptible difference between the Egyptian *fellah* of to-day and the famous wooden statue of one of his forefathers which adorns the Boulaq Museum. If there is still a white race in Palestine, it is because there was a white race there before the days of the Exodus.

The united testimony of the Old Testament and the

<sup>1</sup> For copies of two portraits of him, the excellent work of Mr. Tomkins, *The Times of Abraham*, pl. vi., should be consulted. I ought to add that Mr. Flinders Petrie's casts and photographs show that as late as the time of Shishak and Rehoboam the dominant ethnic type in the cities of Judah seems to have still been Amorite.

Egyptian monuments shows that this race was known by the name of Amorite, and like the Kabyles of Africa inhabited the mountainous regions (Num. xiii. 29; Deut. i. 20). It was the aboriginal race which had been destroyed before the Israelites, though their "height was like the height of the cedar" (Amos ii. 9). In the neighbourhood of the old sacred city of Hebron they were known as the sons of Anak (Deut. i. 27, 28; so Josh. xi. 21, 22, compared with x. 5, 38); in Moab they were called the Emim (Deut. ii. 10), and in Edom the Horites (Deut. ii. 12). The later inhabitants of the country remembered them on account of their height and size—that distinguishing characteristic of the white dolicho-cephalic race; and down to the time of David the gigantic descendants of the Anakim were still pointed out in the cities of the Philistines (Josh. xi. 22; 2 Sam. xxi. 16–22). The iron couch or sarcophagus of Og, the Amorite king of Basan, was preserved at Rabbath, afterwards the capital of Ammon, where its size excited the wonder of subsequent generations (Deut. iii. 3); and the word Rephaim, by which the Amorites came to be known, became synonymous with "giants."<sup>1</sup> Not only had the Amorites held possession of the mountains before their expulsion by Israelites, Moabites, Edomites, and Ammonites, they had also been distinguished by their great stature, so that the Semitic tribes by the side of them seemed to be but "grasshoppers" (Num. xiii. 33).

We can trace a continuous line of Amorite settlements almost from the Egyptian frontier as far as the north of Damascus. When Chedor-laomer and his allies had smitten the Amalekites or Bedouin tribes in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-barnea, which Dr. Trumbull has succeeded in fixing in the block of mountains to the south-east of El-Arish,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Neubauer has shown that the Rephaim originally signified "the shades of the dead," and only later became equivalent to our term "prehistoric people." The Assyrian *rappu*, "weak," also means "the shade of the dead."

<sup>2</sup> *Kadesh-barnea*. (1884.)



they fell upon the Amorites in Hazezon-tamar or En-gedi (Gen. xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xx. 2). The desert sanctuary of Kadesh-barnea itself was in "the mountain of the Amorites" (Deut. i. 19, 20), whose territory stretched away northwards to Hebron and Jerusalem. Ezekiel tells us (xvi. 3, 45) that the mother of Jerusalem was a Hittite and its father an Amorite, and if we might press the statement in Numbers xiii. 29, it would seem that the Amorites shared with the Hittites and the Jebusites the whole of the mountainous district which ran through the centre of Palestine, "from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, as men come to Hamath." At all events the Amorites successfully resisted "the house of Joseph" "in mount Heres," in Aijalon, and in Shaalvim" (Jud. i. 34-36), and Shechem is declared by Jacob (Gen. xlviii. 22) to have been taken "out of the hand of the Amorite"; while the Egyptian monuments expressly state that Kadesh on the Orontes, between Damascus and Hamath, was in "the land of Amâur." But it was on the eastern side of the Jordan that the Amorites maintained themselves in their fullest strength. Here were the kingdoms of Sihon of Heshbon and Og of Bashan, which extended from the Dead Sea to the boundaries of Damascus, and included the later kingdom of Ammon as well as the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh. We may say, in fact, that the Amorites formed the dominant population of the mountainous region on both sides of the Jordan, from the borders of Egypt as far as "the entering in of Hamath." That they extended still farther northwards is indicated by the Egyptian inscriptions.

Throughout this region, and more especially on the eastern side of the Jordan, where the Amorites seem to have been especially strong, cromlechs have been found closely resembling those of northern Africa. These latter again form part of a series which extends through Spain and

France into the British Isles as far north as the Orkneys. They are marked by certain peculiar characteristics, which have led archæologists to believe that they are the creation of a particular race.<sup>1</sup> The skulls and objects discovered in them have led to the further belief that this race was the long-headed white race still so largely represented in Europe. Against this belief the existence of the cromlechs of Palestine and Moab has been invoked, but invoked, as we now see, erroneously. In Palestine and on the eastern side of the Jordan, as well as in northern Africa and western Europe, the cromlechs were accompanied by a tall white race.

I believe that allusion is actually made to the whiteness of skin which characterized this race in the records of the Old Testament. We are told in Deuteronomy ii. 12, that the Edomites or "Red-men" had been preceded in their occupation of the mountains of Seir by the prehistoric Horites. It is customary to derive the name of the latter from *khôr*, "a hole," and explain it as meaning "troglo-dytes"; but when we remember that Caleb was the son of Hur (1 Chron. ii. 50), and that Ash-hur, "the man of Khor," was the brother of Caleb (according to 1 Chron. ii. 24), it is obvious that we must look for another etymology of the word. The district peopled by the descendants of Caleb was in the territory of the Amorites, where no traces of cave-dwellers can be found. I should therefore explain *Khori*, "the Horite," as derived like *khori*, "white bread," from a root signifying "whiteness," and see in the contrast between the Horite and the Edomite the contrast between the earlier white race and the red-skinned Semites who succeeded them.

<sup>1</sup> Cromlechs of a somewhat similar construction have recently been found in the Tcherkess country. This is the more remarkable, since no cromlechs at all may, broadly speaking, be said to exist in Europe east of a line drawn through Dresden.

The prehistoric Emim of Moab and the Zamzumim of Ammon (Deut. ii. 11, 20) are compared with the Anakim and Avim who were "destroyed" by the Philistines of Capthor. These "Avim" or rather Avvim, are stated to have been Anakim in Joshua xi. 22, and the word simply means "the people of the *'iyyim*," or "ruined heaps," of which there were so many in the country. Sometimes these ruined heaps represented one of the cities overthrown by the children of Israel, like Ai near Beth-el; sometimes they merely denoted the cromlechs in which the elder population had buried its dead. All that we can learn from the name is that prehistoric ruins existed not only in the mountains of the interior, but also in the rich lowlands of the Philistine coast.

It will have been noticed that the Amorites are associated with the Hittites, both as occupying "the mountains," and as helping to found Jerusalem. Hebron moreover was not only an Amorite sanctuary, it was also Hittite, and the three Amorite confederates of Abraham,—Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner—are not only parallel to the three sons of Anak, —Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai—but are apparently included among "the children of Heth," from whom Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah "which was before Mamre" (comp. Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xxiii. 17-20).<sup>1</sup> To use a suggestive expression of Mr. Tomkins, the Amorites and Hittites are constantly "interlocked" together.

This is not only the case, according to the Old Testament, in the south of Palestine, the Egyptian monuments show that it was also the case in the north. Kadesh of the

<sup>1</sup> Whether we adopt "the documental hypothesis" of the composition of Genesis or not, does not matter for the purposes of the argument. The writer, at any rate, to whom we owe the book of Genesis in its present form saw no incompatibility in making Hebron at once Hittite and Amorite. Sheshai and Talmai, it may be observed, are shown by their terminations to be tribal names, and Sheshai seems to represent "the Shasu," or nomad Semites "of Canaan," who, according to Seti I., lived a little to the south of Hebron.

Hittites was in the land of the Amorite, and among the Hittite cities in the direction of Carchemish we find Amâr-seki, Mâurr-khnas, and Mâur-mâr.<sup>1</sup> Several years ago I suggested that the strange title of Gar-emeris, given by the Assyrian kings to the district of Damascus, was of Hittite origin, and meant "the country (?) of the Amorites." At all events the second part of the title is expressed by the cuneiform character which denoted an ass (Assyrian *emeru*), reminding us that the name of "the Amorite" out of whose hands Israel took Shechem (Gen. xlviii. 22) has, in the account of Genesis, been contemptuously changed into Hamor, "an ass."

However this may be, Hebron is associated in Numbers xiii. 22 with Zoan, the capital of the Hyksos conquerors of Egypt, which is stated to have been built by them seven years later than Hebron. It is curious that Manetho, the Egyptian historian, declared that Jerusalem had been founded by these same Hyksos after their expulsion from Egypt, and it is possible that Mariette may have been right in thinking that some at least of the Hyksos leaders belonged to the Hittite race. Anthropologists at all events have discovered a resemblance between the Hittite faces represented on their own and the Egyptian monuments and the strange and impressive features of the Hyksos sphinxes of Sâh.

It may be therefore that the Hyksos invasion of Egypt was occasioned by the southern movement of the Hittite tribes from the Taurus, who not only furnished leaders to the nomad Semitic tribes on the frontiers of Egypt, but also led in their train bands of Amorite mountaineers. They would have given solidity and permanence to the invasion,

<sup>1</sup> We may compare the name of the Hittite king, Mâur-sir, where the analogy of the names Kheta-sir ("Hittite-sir"), and Khilip-sir ("Aleppo-sir") goes to show that Mâur denotes a locality. Dr. Neubauer suggests that in "the terebinth of Moreh" (Gen. xii. 6) and "the land of Moriah" (Gen. xxii. 2), we have the name of the Amorite in an abbreviated form.



and we should have an explanation not only of "the interlocking" of the Hittites and the Amorites—reminding us of the similar interlocking of the "black" and "red" Kelts,—but also of the presence of the Hittites in southern Judah. There would be no longer any need of supposing that the Hittites of Genesis are due to the misconceptions of late tradition. They would represent a fragment left behind by the first movement of the northern tribes which resulted in the Hyksos conquest of Egypt.

A relic of Amorite literature has been preserved in the Book of Numbers. Just as Isaiah borrowed a prophecy pronounced upon Moab "long before," and adapted it to the circumstances of his own time, so an old Amorite song of triumph over the Moabites was taken by the Israelites and applied to their own victories over the Amorites themselves. Heshbon, we are told (Num. xxi. 26, *seq.*), "was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Arnon. Wherefore the poets say, Come unto Heshbon; the city of Sihon is built and established. Yea, a fire is gone out of Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon: it has consumed Ar of Moab, (and) the lords of the high places of Arnon. Woe to thee, Moab! Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh: his sons that escaped (the battle) and his daughters have been given in captivity unto the Amorite king Sihon. And we have shot at them: Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, and we have laid them waste even unto Nophah." It is evident that this song could not in the first instance have been composed to commemorate the conquest of Heshbon and the Amorites by the Israelites, but on the contrary must primarily have referred to the Amorite conquest of Moab. The numerous quotations from it in the Old Testament go to show that it was handed down to the Hebrew writers in a literary form. Balaam seems to allude to it in Numbers

xxiv. 17, 19, and Amos in the second chapter (v. 2) of his prophecies, while Jeremiah modifies some of its verses (xlviii. 45, 46) so as to make them suit the events which were shortly about to take place.

It will thus be seen that the Old Testament and the Egyptian monuments alike bear witness to the existence of tribes known as Amorites, who inhabited the mountainous region from the extreme south of Palestine to the neighbourhood of Hamath, and were closely associated there with the yellow-skinned Hittites; that these tribes are depicted by the Egyptian artists with white skins, blue eyes, and blond hair, while the Bible dwells upon their size and stature; and finally that the districts they occupied are thickly strewn with cromlechs similar to those of northern Africa and western Europe. The cromlechs of northern Africa were the burial places of the tall, fair-complexioned, dolicho-cephalic race usually termed Kabyle by the French, and it is reasonable to suppose that the Amorites of Palestine belonged physiologically to the same stock. Descendants of the white race of Palestine may still be met with there quite as much as in the mountains of the African coast, and a reference to their white skin is probably to be found in the Biblical name of Horite. It is even possible that the legend reported by Procopius, which transformed the Moors into Canaanites who had fled from "the robber Joshua," was based upon the resemblance they bore to a portion of the aboriginal population of Palestine. What relation is borne by the white dolicho-cephalic race of Africa to the white dolicho-cephalic race of northern Europe is still unknown; all we can affirm is that the same race of cromlech-builders once extended from the British Isles, through western France and Spain, into Africa, and from thence along its northern shores into Palestine and Syria.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Osburn derived his description of the physical character-

## THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER AND JOSEPHUS.

THERE are two questions in New Testament criticism which have acquired new aspects during the last few years. One of these is the authenticity of the Second Epistle of St. Peter; the other is the key to the interpretation of the Apocalypse. In different ways both questions are of great interest, and it is most desirable that scholars should arrive at that *consensus* of opinion respecting them which has been gradually attained respecting many other questions, once fiercely disputed, now practically settled.

In this paper I have been asked to say a few words on the first of these two questions. I do not of course intend to enter into the whole discussion, but shall confine myself to a single point of capital importance.

In 1882 my friend Dr. Abbott published in THE EXPOSITOR three original papers on the Second Epistle of St. Peter. The first was headed "*Had the Author read Josephus?*" the second, "*Had the Author read St. Jude?*" The third, "*Was the Author St. Peter?*"<sup>1</sup> He decided the first and second questions in the affirmative; the third in the negative. In the course of his papers he entered into much minute criticism. I was myself at the time studying these epistles for my *Early Days of Christianity*, and my deep interest in the subject led me to write a criticism of his views.<sup>2</sup> I ventured to give my reasons for differing

istics of the Amorites from the paintings at Abu-Simbel, which would account for their not being found again by Mr. Petrie. At any rate it was from "the east caves" at Abu-Simbel that he learned that the Shasu of southern Palestine had blue eyes, with red hair, eyebrows, and beard (*Egypt's Testimony*, etc., p. 123).

<sup>1</sup> THE EXPOSITOR, second series, vol. iii., pp. 49-63, 139-153, 204-219.

<sup>2</sup> THE EXPOSITOR, second series, vol. iii., pp. 401-423.

from him on the first question, or at any rate from withholding my assent from what he regarded as absolutely proven. I agreed with him as to the second point, though I did not accept his argument as to the complete *inferiority* of the author of 2 Peter to St. Jude. On the third question I admitted the existence of difficulties, but endeavoured to prove that the very contemptuous estimate which Dr. Abbott had formed of the "Second Epistle of St. Peter" was not justified by the linguistic and other strictures to which he had subjected it. I dealt with the same questions again in *Early Days of Christianity*.<sup>1</sup>

Since these papers were written, Dr. Salmon has published his *Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament*, of which the second edition appeared in 1886. In that book he has devoted nearly forty pages (512-551) to an examination of the question.

It would take me far too long to discuss his whole argument. He agrees with the view that the writer of 2 Peter borrowed from St. Jude, and, in spite of Professor Lumby's argument in the *Speaker's Commentary*, I am unable to imagine how any one familiar with literature can come to any other conclusion. He also criticises (as I had done) Dr. Abbott's sarcastic comment on the supposed "Baboo Greek" of the Epistle. Into all this I shall not here enter. The more crucial question is, Did Josephus borrow from the Epistle, or the author of the Epistle from Josephus? To my mind no third explanation is possible. Consequently I have been driven to what Dr. Salmon calls "the not very hopeful line of defence," that Josephus may have borrowed from 2 Peter. Whether this be "a not very hopeful line of defence" or otherwise I cannot tell. The decision is not helped by Dr. Salmon's *ipse dixit*. I pointed out that, though Josephus shows (so far as I am aware) no *decisive* proofs of familiarity with any other book of the New

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 190-193.



Testament, there is nothing impossible in the supposition that an isolated Christian tract may have fallen under his notice, and that some of its characteristic expressions may have lingered in his memory. Books (I said) have strange destinies. There is no knowing where they may not penetrate, what surprising results they may not produce, into what unexpected hands they may not fall. Josephus was a friend of Aliturus, the Jewish pantomimist, one of the favourites at the court of Nero. He knew Poppæa, who has been suspected by some of being a Jewish proselyte. He may even have had his share in calling Nero's unfavourable attention to the Christians after the fire of Rome. In old age he had attended in the antechambers of the persecuting Domitian. He was a personal friend of Agrippa II. Christianity had found its way both into the imperial and the Herodian palaces, and there is nothing outrageous in the suggestion that Christian literature which was in the hands of some of "Cæsar's household" (Phil. iv. 22) may, by some accident, have got into the hands of Jewish hangers on. It is certain that Josephus knew a good deal more about Christianity than he has chosen to indicate, and if other facts lead to the conjecture, why should it be deemed impossible that he may have read a chance Christian letter which some unhappy apostate may have placed at his disposal?

But, at any rate, I repeat without the least hesitation, that if this be a "not very hopeful line of defence," there is, to my mind, *no other*. I have argued that Josephus may have borrowed from 2 Peter, while at the same time I have pointed out one very serious difficulty (on which I shall touch later on) in such a supposition. But if he did not, then I, as an honest man, can come to no other conclusion than that the writer of 2 Peter borrowed from Josephus;—in which case he could not have been the Apostle. For the *Antiquities* of Josephus were not pub-

lished till about A.D. 94, and the latest date suggested by any writer for the martyrdom of St. Peter is A.D. 65. If it is "not a very hopeful line of defence" to suggest that Josephus may have read 2 Peter, it is an altogether desperate line of defence to argue, as Dr. Salmon does, that the coincidences in passages of the two writers are purely accidental. The hypotheses that the Epistle was written in Aramaic, and that it was only the Greek translator who borrowed from Josephus, or that both writers borrow from some third source, need not here be examined. No one seems to have seriously suggested them.<sup>1</sup>

I ventured to say, and here repeat, that "beyond all shadow of doubt Josephus and the writer of the Epistle could not have written independently of each other"; and that "it would be impossible for me to feel respect for the judgment of any critic who asserted that the resemblances between the two writers were purely fortuitous." Dr. Salmon arrives at the opposite conclusion, and after remarking upon my "magisterial decision," proceeds to an assumption as gratuitously insulting as I could well have imagined. He leads his readers to believe that I had never looked at the passages of Josephus *in situ*; that I had not verified Dr. Abbott's references; that I had "not looked into the matter for myself"; and that I had "jumbled up in my mind the two counts of Dr. Abbott's indictment, that 2 Peter employs unusual and startling words, and that he copies from Josephus"! I have been accustomed for a quarter of a century to the impertinence of tenth-rate "religious" journalism, but I should have hoped that Dr. Salmon was himself too good a scholar and too fair-minded a man to

<sup>1</sup> It may however be noticed that Jerome could only get over the glaring differences of style between 1 Peter and 2 Peter by the suggestion that St. Peter used different Greek amanuenses. *Ep. 120 ad Hedib.* § 11: "Denique et duæ Epistolæ quæ feruntur Petre stilo inter se et caractere discrepant structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum *diversis eum usum interpretibus.*"

indulge in a method of depreciation so cheap and so false. I have been familiar with the writings of Josephus for many years, and Dr. Salmon has chosen to state the reverse of the fact when he charges me with not having examined the matter thoroughly for myself. The first thing I did was to take down my copy of Josephus and examine *in situ* (as he calls it) the passages in question. I have never stooped to notice unworthy criticism, nor have I ever, during a literary life which is now nearing its close, been in any hurry to defend my opinions from the attacks of hundreds of assailants. If I now notice the points at issue between Dr. Salmon and myself, I am not led to do so by the least personal concern in the matter—for I have learnt from Dante,

“Lascia dir le genti,  
Sta, come torre, fermo,”—

but solely in the interests of truth. If it had been possible to argue the question without mentioning myself at all, it would have been far more in accordance with my wishes and my habits.

Dr. Salmon, after doing his best to disparage me beforehand in the eyes of his readers, takes issue with me on three points :

I agreed with Dr. Abbott in the view that words, in some instances not only unusual but startling, words which are in some instances *hapax legomena*, so far as the N.T. and the LXX. are concerned, occur together, in much the same sequence and connexion, in passages of brief compass, in the *Antiquities* of Josephus. Dr. Salmon says,—

1. “They do not appear in passages of what I should call brief compass. They are taken from a folio page of Josephus, and range from 2 Peter i. 3 to iii. 16.”

If I were to adopt Dr. Salmon’s methods, I should say that this was a loose statement, for the facts are these.

The first important group of resemblances in expression adduced by Dr. Abbott occurs in 2 Peter i. 3, 4, 16, and in *two paragraphs* of the Introduction of Josephus. The second important group of words occurs *mainly* in 2 Peter i. 12, 13, 15, 17, and in Josephus, *Antiquities* iv. 8 § 2.

Is it anything but a quibble to say then, that they do not occur within brief compass? And does it add nothing to the singular character of the phenomenon that they are crowded into the two passages of Josephus which would have been specially likely to attract attention; namely, the Introduction, resembling the introduction of the Epistle, and the last words of Moses, resembling the farewell message of St. Peter?

2. "They are not in *the same* sequence and connexion."

I did not say that they were "in the same," but "*in much the same.*" They are so close together that the sequence and connexion are remarkable: in Josephus the order of resemblances is a, g, f, b, h, c, d, e; in 2 Peter g, c, d, b, h, e, f, a. "The case," says Dr. Salmon, "is as if one finding two pieces of stuff of different patterns and material should fix on some flowers or the like occurring here and there in each, should cut up both into scraps, *construct a patchwork out of each* (!) and then say, How like these pieces are to each other!" It would be impossible to use a comparison more misleading. It would be more true to say that (i.) we find two pieces, among a vast heap, which bear close, repeated, and most surprising resemblance to two others in a comparatively small heap; (ii.) that the pieces compared are once or twice absolutely identical in their marked peculiarities; and (iii.) that these peculiarities occur in no other pieces which we could select for comparison. Would not the inference be forced upon us that the designers of the strange patterns had not worked quite independently of each other?



3. "The words are not unusual and startling, and such as can fairly be called *hapax legomena*."

Dr. Salmon first makes a point by setting aside one or two resemblances to which it is not true that "Dr. Abbott asks us to give *weight*," for he said distinctly that they are "slight in themselves" (e.g. "the *power* of God"). Such a similarity is only worth any notice at all when it occurs with others which we believe to be decisive. But I cannot agree that the same remark applies to *τοιᾷσδε* in 2 Peter i. 17. The expression, "the *following* voice" (*φωνῆς . . . τοιᾷσδε*) is in itself a strange expression. It is still more so when we find that (1) the word *τοιῶσδε* occurs nowhere else in the N.T.; and (2) not once apparently in the whole LXX;<sup>1</sup> but (3) does occur in the very paragraph (or, lest a quibble should be founded on this, in the *last word* of the previous paragraph) of Josephus which furnishes a whole group of resemblances to 2 Peter. The force of inference arising from the *combination of many phrases*, even if one or two of them be not in themselves uncommon, does not seem to strike Dr. Salmon at all. The argument is this. Two prominent passages of Josephus bear marked resemblance to parts of 2 Peter, especially in the first chapter; and some of the expressions are so unusual that they cannot be due to accident. We find them combined with a group of others which, taken by themselves, would not have attracted any attention; but when they are considered in connexion with the others they would be taken into account in any *similar controversy* about literary resemblances. Dr. Salmon "counts it needless to discuss" *γινώσκειν ὅτι* and *δίκαιον ἡγεῖσθαι*; but whether he does or not, he may be sure that critics will take those coincidences into account when they occur with half a dozen of a similar kind, and when the former phrase, used to introduce a new clause, is rare in the N.T., and the latter does not

<sup>1</sup> Schleusner does not give a single instance.

occur elsewhere either in the N.T. or in the LXX. Dr. Salmon cannot see the force of the bare facts that in the passages in question *τοιόσδε, μνήμη, πλαστός, δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι, μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες, Θεοῦ* and *θεία φύσις* are never used elsewhere in the N.T., and *ἐφ' ὅσον, ἔξοδος, μεγαλειότης* only once elsewhere; that these are only a few of the resemblances between the passages in question, which are further strengthened by other resemblances like *καλῶς ποιεῖτε προσέχοντες* (2 Pet. i. 19; *Ant.* xi. 6 § 12); and that, further, the resemblances in language are rendered still more remarkable by resemblances in thought. But these facts would be quite sufficient to prove that there had been plagiarism on one side or the other, if the resemblances occurred in authors about whose date or independence no one had formed any preconceived opinion. They cannot be minimised, nor can the issue which they raise be confused by any special pleading however ingenious.

Nor must it be forgotten that, besides the coincidences crowded into two short spaces, there are other isolated similarities. Such are *ἰσότημος* (2 Pet. i. 1, here only in N.T.; Jos., *Ant.* xii. 3 § 1); the very strange phrase *λήθην λαβών*, "receiving oblivion" (i. 9, here only in N.T.; Jos., *Ant.* ii. 9 § 1); *σεσοφισμένος* (i. 16, here only in N.T.; comp. Jos., *B. J.* iv. 2 § 3; iii. 7 § 20: but in Ps. lvii. 5 *σεσοφισμένος* is used by Aquila and Symmachus in a different sense); *ἐπάγγελμα*, in the sense of "promise" (Jos. c. *Ap.* i. § 5); *ἐμπορέσονται* in the sense of "will make gain of" (ii. 3, here only in N.T., but in Jos. *Ant.* iv. 6 § 8); the phrase *πλαστοῖς λόγοις*, also here only in N.T., and resembling the *πλασμάτων* of Jos., *Ant.*, *Intro.* § 3; the late and bad word *ἔκπαλαι* (ii. 3); *βραδύτης*, of the Divine judgment (iii. 9); *χωρῆσαι*, in the sense of "go forward" (iii. 9; Jos., *B. J.* vi. 2 § 5); *ὃ καλῶς ποιεῖτε προσέχοντες* (i. 19; Jos., *Ant.* xi. 6 § 12); *κυριότητος καταφρονούντες* *τολμηταί* (ii. 10, compared with *τολμηταὶ καὶ*

θανάτου καταφρονοῦντες, Jos., B. J. iii. 9 § 3). These are by no means all that have been adduced by Dr. Abbott or previous scholars; and it is probable that diligent research would reveal many more.

Dr. Salmon fails to see the force of conviction which results from St. Peter's use of the astonishing expression in 2 Peter i. 3, τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ (S, A. C. Lachm., Tisch.). In the first place, the word ἀρετή is very rare in the N.T. It only occurs in the singular in this Epistle (i. 3, 5) and in Philippians iv. 8; and in the latter passage it is hardly adopted into the Christian sphere of thought, but is rather used in a general appeal *a minori ad majus* to converts who had been heathens. The Christian ideal required "holiness," which is something transcendently loftier than the Pagan ideal of virtue. It would therefore be enough to startle the most careless reader to find "*virtue*" attributed to *God*. Dr. Salmon says, "But we have τὰς ἀρετὰς concerning God in the first Epistle (ii. 9)." It is to me astonishing that he should have been content to say this without noticing my argument, which proves how absolutely irrelevant is the supposed parallel. Ἀρεταί and ἀρετή have entirely different meanings. Ἀρεταί is rendered "*praises*" in our A. V., and "*virtues*" in the margin. Both renderings are dubious. No Christian would dare to talk of "the *virtues* of God"; and in ordinary Greek ἀρεταί could not mean "*praises*." Our translators of 1611 only used the word because ἀρεται is used by the LXX. in Isaiah xlii. 8, xliii. 21, for the Hebrew תְּהִלָּת, and is interchangeable with δόξα, "*glory*." The use of ἀρεταί therefore is no parallel at all. There is nothing in ἀρεταί (which has here a Hebraic meaning taken from the LXX.) which is at all surprising, and in point of fact it simply means the same as in the passage of Isaiah. "In omnibus his locis," says Schleusner, "ἀρεταί sunt maxime laudabiles perfectiones et proprietates Dei" (comp. Esth. xiv. 10).

But that our Authorized translators felt the difficulty involved in the ἀρετή of 2 Peter is clear, for otherwise they would not have rendered it by the impossible mistranslation, "who hath called us *to* glory and virtue." I have very little doubt that it was the strangeness of the phrase, that God "called us *by His own* glory and *virtue*," which caused the alteration of the reading in B.K.L. to διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς; for there is nothing in the O.T., resembling the attribution of *virtue* to God. In Habakkuk iii. 2 we read ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ; but there the word is simply used for הֹדוֹ, "glory" (comp. Ps. xix. 1), as in Zechariah vi. 13.

Now certainly it may be argued that 2 Peter uses ἀρετή *in the sense of ἀρεταί*, following these one or two instances in the LXX.; and it may also be argued (as Dr. Salmon argues) that he borrows not from Josephus but from Philo, who also uses ἀρετή of God in one or two passages.<sup>1</sup> But when we remember that the expression, in itself so rare, occurs in a passage of Josephus, which in a single page affords us four or five *other* expressions found in a page or two of this Epistle, and either not found at all, or very rarely found elsewhere in the N.T. or LXX., the argument that the two writers are not independent of each other becomes overwhelmingly strong. My greatest difficulty in holding that *Josephus* was the borrower arises from the fact that in *his* Introduction the expression at once explains itself. "Other legislators," he says, "following fables, transferred to the gods the shame of human sins; but our legislator exhibited God as the possessor of an uncontaminated *virtue*." He is thus contrasting the ideal of a *God of virtue* with gods who were the apotheosis of human vice.

<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me that in *Quis. Rer. Div. Haer.* (Mangey i. 488) ἀρετή does not mean virtue, but "glory," as the context shows; and in *De Somn.* (Mangey i. 635), the ἀρετή, "majestas," of God is in contrast to the σμικρολογία of men.



Similarly with the *θεοῦ φύσιν* of Josephus as compared with the *θείας φύσεως* of 2 Peter i. 4. The adjective *θείος* only occurs in the N.T. in this Epistle (i. 3, 4); for *τὸ θεῖον* in Acts xvii. 29 is hardly a case in point. In the LXX. also *θείος* is very far from common. *φύσις*, both in the N.T. and the LXX., is applied elsewhere exclusively to *created* nature. It would never have occurred to a Jew to talk about "*the Divine nature*"; but Josephus, familiar as he was with the common phrases of Greek philosophy, would use the term freely enough.<sup>1</sup> But, says Dr. Salmon, *θεοῦ φύσις* is also a Philonic phrase, and he quotes *De Mose* (Mangey ii. 143), *ἤδει γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ*. He would have done better at least to quote the next word, *ἤδει γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλεω*. "He (Noah) knew that the nature (here=the disposition, or character) of God was merciful." Here the phrase is *not used in the abstract at all*, as it is in Josephus and 2 Peter, so that the quotation is irrelevant. But, apart from this, to ask why 2 Peter may not have borrowed the phrase from Philo, is simply to ignore the whole meaning and cumulative character of the argument. If Dr. Salmon could produce in any fifty pages of Philo's voluminous works *as many and as close* parallels to 2 Peter as have been adduced from two folio pages of Josephus, his question would have some meaning. Until he can do so it involves a simple *ignoratio elenchi*.

In conclusion, let me ask the serious and candid reader, who only cares to arrive at the truth, to do as I have done by writing out side by side the passages of Josephus and those of 2 Peter which are marked by close resemblance in thought and expression. Let him then calmly consider their weight and their singularity. If, after having done that, he still adheres to the opinion that they are of absolutely independent origin, his canons of literary criticism

<sup>1</sup> B. J. iii. 7 § 20; iv. 2 § 3. Also the *θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως* is the same order as *μακρὰς κοινωνοὶ ταλαιπωρίας* in Ant. iv. 8 § 2.

must be so completely different from those to which I have been led during the whole of a studious life, that any further argument would evidently be useless.

F. W. FARRAR.

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### ANCIENT AND MODERN PROPHETS.

WE are not concerned with the idea of prediction, nor again with those ecstatic outbursts of dancing, music, and song, which are not wholly without a place even in Hebrew and Christian prophecy. The special attribute of the prophet on which we wish to dwell may be roughly expressed in the words, "Preacher of Righteousness." The received etymology of the common Hebrew word for prophet suggests fluent and fervid utterance, the utterance of truth in the fervour of God-sent enthusiasm; again the Greek word describes one who speaks for another, the interpreter or ambassador of the Divine will. In other cases the prophet is called a seer, and this name, however used at the time, may fairly remind us that an essential condition of the enthusiastic utterance of truth is that the speaker shall have beheld the Divine vision of the truth.

Insight, the ambassador's mission, the gift and duty of utterance, these have been the characteristics of the prophets of every age and nation. And the men who have borne the name of Prophet have been busy with all the business of life, from strayed asses to changing dynasties, from rites and ceremonies to the vindication of the liberties of the oppressed, to the foreshadowing of the suffering Messiah, to the open vision of the glory of God. The prophet has been as it were a manifestation of the Living Word, lending to the Divine message the fire of human emotion and the energy of human conviction, as when at

last the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us. In as far as the Christian minister to-day consecrates emotion and faith to the delivery of a message learnt from experience of God in righteousness and truth, so is he of the children of the prophets.

We notice further as to the prophets that they were the historians of the nation, and their works are either embodied in the Old Testament or constantly referred to therein; they appear as men of action upon the scene of practical politics, they anoint and depose kings. Above all else they were public speakers, almost the only public speakers of whom we read in the Old Testament, the only orators of the nation whose words left any trace upon its records.

There are public speakers to-day, there is scope and necessity to-day for the work the prophets wrought in Israel; let us inquire whether this work is being done, how it is being done, and by whom. But before we begin we must remember that the line sometimes drawn between the region of religion and that of secular life was unknown to the Israelites; that the prophets found that God had a message for men of every rank, profession, and office—a message dealing with every duty and privilege of life, with all its toil and suffering. Hence the prophets themselves took their share in many public duties, wherein some now maintain that only a false and weak sentiment ventures to introduce religious and Christian ideas. They were preachers doubtless, they were likewise statesmen. The concentrated passion of which their words were the expression gave to these words the spirit and sometimes the form of poetry, and thus their writings were the foundation and indeed the chief portion of the national literature.

Having spoken of the prophets as the statesmen, the poets and the preachers of Israel, our subject naturally shapes itself into the question: How far may we find in

the statesmen, the poets and the preachers of to-day successors of the ancient prophets?

We must remember especially one great change in the conditions under which men influence their fellow men. When the ancient prophet proclaimed his message he depended chiefly upon opportunities of speaking to them face to face; now the printing press and the newspaper and the advertisement hoarding give men a nation for their audience. The forerunners in the nineteenth century do not lift up their voices in the wilderness, they placard huge bills on dead walls. Speakers, even those most effective in their delivery, exercise their greatest influence through the printed reports of their speeches; so it is with great speeches of Gladstone and Chamberlain—the effect on the immediate audience is a small part of the result produced; so too is it with the sermons of Robertson, Maclaren, Spurgeon. On the other hand, such a document as Gladstone's manifesto is virtually a speech in print. A speech read or delivered *memoriter* is a connecting link between the extempore speech and written documents; it illustrates the relation between the two; its eloquence and fervour are not due to the magnetic influence of an audience, to the personal sympathy developed by their actual presence, but is due to their imagined presence, as the future audience is present to the speaker writing out his speech in his study. And so now the poet, the political or theological author, writes as if he stood in spirit before an audience of his fellow men—their needs, their human character and emotion are a burden upon his heart, a stimulus to his pen, and he too is in spirit an orator.

Let us then in considering the presence or absence of prophetic characteristics in our statesmen, poets and preachers remember that we are dealing with them as public speakers in this extended sense. Let us remember too what these prophetic characteristics are. An insight



into the Divine realities that underlie the passing shows of nature and history; an insight only granted to some measure of personal and practical righteousness, for "if any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God." Next the prophet having gained this Divine knowledge receives it as a Divine message, he is God's ambassador—these truths are not to be made the materials for personal advancement, or to be used for party purposes; and thus there is laid upon him the necessity of utterance for God and for man; the truth is from God, the principles that shall guide and inspire the prophet in his utterance must be learnt of God, all is begun, continued and ended in Him. For most men and in part for all men this insight into Divine things must be gained by a pure and Christian life, by a bold loyalty to truth, and a patient study of truth; faith, hope, love, reason, patience, and experience all contribute their share to the wisdom that is from above. The same graces that enable a man to learn the truth will prompt him to utterance and guide him in his utterance, so that he uses the truth loyally and honestly.

We begin then with the statesman, confining ourselves to his work in guiding and forming public opinion and excluding his function of executing the will of the people. We include under this head all who by speaking and writing influence the people, we specially include the public press, whose work as champion of public liberty and righteousness has been expressly compared to that of the Hebrew prophets.

There is great scope for the prophet in modern politics; perhaps this time is one of those special crises at which some prophetic word is specially indispensable. We are driven to reconsider the very fundamental principles of society, individual liberty, freedom of contract, the rights of property. Through the free play of these principles there have arisen or exist great privileged classes; the landowners,

the capitalists and the trades unions of skilled artisans. There are other classes less able to hold their own: the agricultural population, the middle classes, the labourers. Partly perhaps through a too eager selfishness, chiefly through the pressure of circumstances, the privileged classes exert a cruel pressure upon the rest of the community. At the same time classes and individuals maintain a warfare of competition that threatens to bring about their mutual destruction.

Under these circumstances it appears that some new departure may be necessary, and it is of the highest importance that it should be taken in a spirit of patience and righteousness, mutual sympathy and help; not to gratify the selfish interests or passions of any class, and least of all to afford new weapons to political ambition. In other words, it is a matter of life and death that in this crisis the inspiration should be from above and not from below, that the voice of the prophet should overrule selfishness and ambition.

I do not know that the outlook is very encouraging; high sounding statements of principle are bandied to and fro, but neither the press nor politicians seem anxious to get at the truth; such truth as they find is distorted to suit party views and used for party ends. There is no sure word of prophecy.

That is speaking generally, there are no doubt exceptions; probably most of our statesmen have their moments of insight and inspiration and prophetic utterance; but the power and effect of these is narrowed and enfeebled by selfishness and party spirit. Leaving for the moment present politics, we may take as an example of the political prophet of righteousness William Wilberforce, who induced England to sacrifice £20,000,000 in order to enfranchise the West Indian slaves.

We need to protest most of all against those who say to

the prophets, prophesy not, who maintain that conventional morality is a sufficient basis for our politics, who deny that the enthusiasm of service and sacrifice can have any place in our policy at home or abroad. When the fountains of the great deep are broken up we must go back to something more fundamental than conventional morality, and as the Religious Reformation fostered the growth of modern liberty, so some Divine truth and Divine message are necessary for our Social Reformation.

We pass on to the poets; I want to use this term also in a very elastic sense, and include under it such writers as Carlyle, Ruskin, and George Eliot. Serious poetry has always had a large religious element. In Homer and Virgil the deities appear as rival Providences to their favourite nations and heroes, Dante writes of heaven and hell, Milton of *Paradise Lost and Regained*. Poetry is essentially the expression of men's deepest feelings, and the feelings that assert themselves most strongly in a passionate nature are religious, hence it is inevitable that theology and poetry should often minister to one another.

But in Homer and Virgil, Milton and Dante, the religious element is introduced because of the striking characters and situations it furnishes, because of its supreme dramatic value; their writings rather appeal to the imagination than touch the heart and conscience. But it is the characteristic of the Hebrew prophets, as it is of much modern poetry and allied literature, that the religious element is not introduced to add to the æsthetic power of the work, but the poetical form is the natural expression of high wrought religious feeling. We shall be able to see from a few examples how eager questionings and profound convictions burn in their hearts, how they press importunately for utterance and issue in words that are powerful to move their fellow men. We may say in all reverence that they (amidst many important differences) are like the prophets

of old, possessed by a Holy Spirit, they become the mouth-pieces of that Spirit, and God owns their ministry.

Take an illustration from the many messages of righteousness found in George Eliot's writings. There is a group of characters appearing in several of her works, with a repetition too varied to be tedious. Its leading representatives are Geoffrey Cass in *Silas Marner*, Arthur Donithorne in *Adam Bede*, Wybrow in *Mr. Gilfil's Love Story*, Stephen Guest in *The Mill on the Floss*, Tito Melema in *Romola*. The character is that of an apparently amiable, brilliant, popular man, who without intending any harm seeks to avoid trouble and pain, intends to indulge himself without harming any one else, and loves to bask in the sunshine of universal goodwill. We are shown the inherent meanness and inevitable failure of such a character. For a time we are allowed to admire and entertain a certain liking, they are popular with us as with the men about them.

But as the story develops, as each of those heroes ruins a woman's happiness and becomes the cause of wide-spreading sorrow, our admiration and liking give place to indignation and contempt; and these in turn give way to a mournful pity as we see the men themselves suffering the fruit of their deeds. The tendencies that ruined these men are common if not universal, and as we read their history it is as if our eyes had been opened to a precipice along the edge of which we were walking. No thoughtful man with any desires after an honourable life can read the story of Tito without renewing his determination to choose the right however painful, to fulfil duty however distasteful; no Christian man will read it without learning his weakness, and seeking to draw closer the bond between himself and the Higher grace and goodness.

The truth taught by Ruskin and Carlyle is akin to Savonarola's preaching as described by George Eliot, "that the



world was certainly not framed for the lasting convenience of hypocrites, libertines and oppressors." Many recognised exponents of current opinion hold that God's kingdom will not come on the earth. If this be so, either Christ was sadly mistaken when He taught men to pray "Thy kingdom come . . . on earth as it is in heaven," or else we must understand that this clause of our constant prayer is excepted from the promise "Ask, and it shall be given unto you."

It seems to many that slums, a desperate struggle for bare existence, and other features of ancient and modern civilization, having existed so long as they can remember or discover records, it seems that such things are to be as invariable and perpetual as summer and winter, sowing and harvest. Carlyle and Ruskin refuse to rest in such a belief, refuse to tolerate the apathy, the letting-alone based on such a belief. They lay it upon us as a sacred duty to see that each man has his work and does his work and gets due provision for himself. They even seem to have some dim hope that such things are possible, or if they are not possible Carlyle and Ruskin seem to think it may rather be our duty to perish in trying to bring them about, than our right and privilege to secure to ourselves a place amongst the few who are comfortable apart from the many whose toil and misery form a broad and deep foundation for the comfort of the few.

In George Eliot, in Ruskin and Carlyle there is a sympathy with suffering, there is loathing of selfishness, however brilliant and successful. George Eliot treats the subject in its effect on individual lives, Ruskin and Carlyle in its effects on the community.

In Browning and Tennyson we find a still wider treatment of the same subject. The sin and suffering of man suggests to them deep problems as to the Nature of God and the Eternal Destiny of man, and they too have for

us a prophetic word of promise. Dimly and almost doubtfully they set before us the vision of a God whose work at last will be manifest to our eyes as very good, even as at first it was so manifest to Him. Their pages reflect the doubt and perplexity of our generation, and yet seem to record as well the triumph of faith, the attainment of the Vision of God. To such poets and writers our age owes very largely its inspiration of righteousness and renewal of faith. In them the religious feeling of the day has found its most powerful and permanent expression.

We come to our last class, the preachers. The modern preacher combines more of the prophetic functions than either statesman or poet. He comes before the people as the student of Divine truth, the subject of spiritual experiences; he claims a Divine call and a Divine mission; he is recognised as an essential and important part of the religious system of the times. Yet his position is in some respects more limited and more difficult than that of the ancient prophet. Eloquence, oratory, his special vehicles of truth, are shared by him with the politician and the lecturer, and these speak upon subjects which more easily than religion touch and stir the minds of men. These borrow his special topics, appeal to the emotions of righteousness and almost of spirituality which he seeks to move. The Sunday sermon with its abstractions often seems tame compared to the political speech which mingles appeals to the religious sentiment with the stirring sounds of party watchwords and the self-interest of material loss or gain. The preacher is debarred from poetic form and expression, he cannot preach an *In Memoriam*. The sermons produced rapidly in the intervals of pastoral work are unconsciously and unreasonably compared by some of his hearers to the most finished poetry and prose of the day, and men are inclined to neglect the sermon and seek inspiration and guidance in the novel or essay or poem.

I think I have stated these difficulties as boldly and as uncompromisingly as I well can; but in spite of them I maintain that the preacher still discharges an essential part of the prophet's work. As against the poet, he wields the magnetic influence of voice and manner, an influence not to be superseded by any beauty of style, or depth and force of meaning. In spoken address heart touches heart more rapidly and effectually than through any written word. As against the politician and the statesman, the preacher approaches religious questions with advantages of training, habits and object of life. The politician attempts mainly to convince the intellect and control the will; the preacher seeks to win heart and conscience. The preacher dealing with fewer people, better known to him, speaks with a more personal interest, and is met with a more personal response. It is his special privilege and special source of power that he labours for individual souls, and seeks to find for his message not the form that shall exert the widest influence over a nation, but the words that shall best serve the needs of his own people. The task may be humbler, it is none the less necessary; if its rewards are less glorious, they touch the preacher's heart more nearly and more gratefully than any reward that comes to the statesman.

There are two prophets in the Old Testament whose parallels are often found in all ages; there was Jonah who refused his mission, and Balaam who sought to sell the Divine gift and pervert the Divine message. The princes of Moab came to Balaam with the rewards of divination in their hands, and the prophet of to-day is exposed to like temptations. George Eliot says of Savonarola, "No man ever struggled to retain power over a mixed multitude without suffering vitiation; his standard must be their lower needs and not his own best insight." The statesman the poet, the preacher are alike tempted by the prospect

of influence and popularity to be less careful about the quality of their influence, than about its extent. The rewards of divination to the statesman may be a seat in parliament or a place in the cabinet, those of the poet and novelist a wide circulation and a chorus of flattering reviews. To the preacher the princes of Moab may come attired as patrons of livings, or as deacons of Nonconformist churches, bringing with them as rewards of divination rich benefices or invitations to desirable churches or even the prospect that wealthy families may take sittings. The author of *Ecce Homo* speaks very strongly of any failure of duty on the part of the nation's prophets: "If the unlucky malefactor, who in mere brutality of ignorance or narrowness of nature or of culture has wronged his neighbour, excite our anger, how much deeper should be our indignation when intellect and eloquence are abused to selfish purposes, when studious leisure and learning and thought turn traitors to the cause of human well-being, and the wells of a nation's moral life are poisoned!"

But we base on long experience and emphatic promise a confidence that the succession of true prophets shall be unbroken, that each crisis of human history shall bring its Divine messenger and its Divine message, that Moses and Samuel, Elijah and Isaiah and Malachi, the Apostles and Fathers, Luther and Calvin, shall not fail of worthy successors; that ever as the need comes will God raise up unto us prophets like unto the greatest of the prophets.

And in this confidence we enter into the spirit of the ancient prophets, who ever looking forward saw in the distant future a greater than themselves, and knew that the times of men's anguish and failure and perplexity were not the preludes to ruin and despair, but to clearer and fuller revelations of the wisdom and truth, the power and love of God; so we as we stand confronted with what seem to be insoluble problems and hopeless misery and sin



beyond salvation, dare to believe that we may like the ancient prophets cherish and proclaim the hope of a Messiah, of the coming of prophets and the presence of a Saviour, through whom the problems shall be solved and despair give place to faith and sin to righteousness.

W. H. BENNETT.

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## THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

### III. CHRIST AND THE ANGELS (CHAP. I. 5-14; II. 1-4).

A MODERN interpreter, if he were to take his readers into his confidence, would confess that he would gladly pass over this section about angels. It is an irksome task to be obliged to consider gravely a proof that Christ is greater than angels; the thing to be proved is so much a matter of course. The angels are for us pretty much a dead theological category. Everywhere in the Jewish world, they are nowhere, or next to nowhere, in ours. Never was a truer word written than that not to angels was "the world to come" put in subjection. They have practically disappeared from the Christian world in fact and in thought. The "nature" angels, by whose agency, according to the Jewish theory of the universe, the phenomena of nature were produced, have been replaced in our scientific era by physical forces. The angels of Providence, though not so entirely discarded, are now rare and strange visitants.

The subject, I think, was a weariness to the writer also. A Jew, and acquainted with Jewish opinion, and obliged to adjust his argument to it, he was tired of the angelic régime. Too much had been made of it in popular opinion and in rabbinical teaching. He is by no means to be supposed to be in sympathy with either. His state of mind was similar to that of all reformers living at periods of transition, who have lost interest in the traditional, the old, and the decadent, and are eagerly, enthusiastically open to the influences of the new time. He is as little in sympathy

with angelology as with leviticalism; both for him belong to the old world of Judaism which is ready to vanish away. This mood of his is what we can cordially sympathise with, and what gives us heart to go through with an otherwise distasteful task.

While feeling an argument in proof of Christ's superiority to angels superfluous, we moderns can still appreciate in some measure the religious grandeur of the argument actually adduced in this passage. Suppose for the moment all critical and exegetical difficulties connected with this variegated mosaic composite of Old Testament texts, so beautiful from the picturesque point of view, removed, how impressive the sublime contrast drawn! how admirably it serves the purpose of making the angels dwindle into insignificance in presence of Christ! He, the first-born Son of God, Himself Divine, performing creative works, everlasting, sitting on a Divine throne, victorious over all His enemies, and ruling in righteousness; they worshippers, servants, subjects, creatures, perishable like all created beings.

When we look closely into the argument in its details, we find that for us the proof is much less plain than the thing proved. We have no difficulty in believing that Christ is greater than angels; that truth for us is axiomatic. But the citations by which the thesis is established bristle with perplexities of all sorts. There is hardly a text in this Old Testament mosaic that does not present its problem to our minds, soluble perhaps, but by its existence weakening the religious impression which the whole passage may be assumed to have made on minds for which our difficulties had no existence.

These problems, critical and exegetical, I shall lightly touch, just sufficiently to indicate their nature, and the direction in which solution lies. After these have been thus disposed of, we shall be in a better position for realiz-

ing the broad effect of the contrast which runs through the quotations.

The seven quotations have for their general aim to show the surpassing excellence of Christ's *name* as set forth in the Scriptures, His Messianic inheritance from Old Testament prophecy. Some divide them into two heads: those which relate to the *more excellent Name*, and those which relate to the *better Dignity*; including under the former head the three quotations contained in vers. 5 and 6, and under the latter the four contained in vers. 7-14. There is no need for making such a rigid distinction. The two topics run into each other. The ostensible aim throughout is to show the kind of titles given to the Messiah. But into the demonstration of the name the dignity intrudes, for the simple reason that each implies the other. Thus in one text Christ is exhibited as a Divine King. It is a name and also an office, or if you will an office and also a name.

Another solicitude of interpreters is to determine the relation of the citations to the "states" of Christ. Do the statements contained therein refer all and exclusively to the state of exaltation? The bias of those who are anxious to make this out is evident. It is to interpret the texts in accordance with their view of the writer's doctrine concerning the position of the angels in the world. According to this view, the writer conceived of the angels as the rulers of the present visible world. To their dominion men in general were subject, and Christ also while He was on earth. The contrast drawn in the first part of the epistle between Christ and the angels is really a contrast between two worlds—the present world and the world to come; and between two universal administrations, that of angels in the world about to pass away, and that of Christ and men in the new world about to come in. Before Christ ascended to heaven He belonged to the old world; therefore, in common with all men, He was subject to the angels. If



this be so, then it is easy to see what must be done with texts in which Christ is represented as superior to angels. They must be relegated to the state of exaltation wherein He *became* better than the angels.

I am not convinced that the doctrine imputed to the writer was held by him, nor am I inclined to look at those texts under the bias of such an imputation. So far as I see, what the writer ascribes to Christ in the state of exaltation is signal and absolute superiority to angels, not a superiority implying the absolute negation of it in the earthly state. But I do not feel that this view requires me to interpret the texts under the opposite bias; that is, with the desire to make them refer to the pre-existent or earthly state. For suppose it were made out that all those texts as a matter of fact refer to the exaltation, what would that imply? Not the denial of Christ's superiority to angels in previous conditions, but simply the affirmation that, whatever might be true of previous conditions, He was at all events signally superior to them in the exalted state. Nay, suppose it could be proved that the writer expressly selected texts which could only apply to the state of exaltation, it would not follow that he entertained the opinion that Christ was subject to angels in the earthly state. His choice might be dictated by an apologetic aim. Writing to men to whom the humiliation of Christ was a stumblingblock, it was obviously desirable that he should show them that of the superiority of the exalted Christ, at all events, over angels, there could be no doubt; arguing to this effect: Ye have high thoughts of the position of angels, and in comparison with them, Jesus on earth may seem to occupy a mean station. But now the tables are turned, the positions of the parties are reversed; the first is become last, and the last first.

Questions may be raised either as to the *relevancy* or as to the *legitimacy* of these citations. They are relevant

if the passages quoted refer to the Messiah. The writer assumes that they do, and he takes for granted that the assumption will not be disputed by his readers. Not only so, he assumes that these texts are directly and exclusively Messianic; he proceeds on the same assumption in reference to all Messianic citations through the epistle. His interest in the Old Testament is purely religious. He thinks not of what meaning these holy writings might have for the contemporaries of the writers, but only of the meaning they have for his own generation. This need cause no trouble. The limited, practical view taken of Old Testament prophecy by New Testament writers is no law for us, and ought not to be regarded as interdicting the scientific historical interpretation of the prophetic writings. It were a more serious matter if it should be found that passages cited as Messianic had no reference whatever to the Messiah, either directly or indirectly. Now on first view of at least some of these quotations, it certainly seems as if the writer thought himself at liberty to quote as Messianic any statement about either God or man that appeared to suit his purpose. Which of us would have thought the passage quoted from Psalm cii. 10-12 applicable to Messiah? Yet on second thoughts we discover that consciously or instinctively, the writer proceeds on a principle, and does not quote at haphazard. Two principles underlie the group of quotations: that all statements concerning men, say, kings of Israel, which rise above the historical reality into the ideal are Messianic; and that statements concerning Jehovah viewed as the Saviour of the latter days are also to be regarded as Messianic. The former of these principles applies to the first two quotations in ver. 5, and to the fifth and seventh in vers. 8, 9, and 13. All these passages may be regarded as referring originally to a king of Israel, to Solomon, or some other; but in each case there is an ideal element which could not be applied to the

historical reality without extravagance. "I have *begotten* thee," "Thy throne, O God," or even "thy throne of God," the words implying in either case Divine dignity, "Sit on my right hand," taken along with "thou art a priest *for ever*." The latter of the two principles above stated applies to the quotation from Psalm cii., which speaks of a time coming when Jehovah shall build up Zion, and when the kingdoms of the world shall join with Israel in serving Him. It is possible that the writer regarded this text as Messianic, because in his view creation was the work of the pre-existent Christ. But it is equally possible that he ascribed creative agency to Christ out of regard to this and other similar texts, believed to be Messianic on other grounds.

The third quotation, ver. 6, presents a complication of difficulties. First, whence is it taken? Substantially the sentiment occurs in Psalm xcvii. 7, "Worship Him, all ye gods" (angels, Sept.). But the "and" (*καί*) with which the quotation begins forbids our regarding the psalm as its source. The sentence, word for word, including the "and," occurs in the Septuagint version of Deuteronomy xxxii. 43, and there can be little doubt that it was from that place the writer made the citation. But at that place the Septuagint diverges widely from the Hebrew text as we know it. The verse in that version consist of four clauses, only one of which, the third, has words answering to it in the Hebrew. It is the second clause which is quoted in Hebrews i. 6. Thus the question arises, With what propriety can use be made in an important argument of words quoted from the Septuagint which have nothing answering to them in the Hebrew original? This is a question of *legitimacy*. Now it is possible, of course, that the Greek translators found Hebrew words corresponding to their version in the codex they used, but as that is only a possibility we cannot evade the question just put. The answer offered by apologetic

commentators is, that the thought contained in the quotation is found elsewhere in Scripture, as, *e.g.*, in the above cited psalm, and that therefore no wrong is done to the teaching of the sacred writings in the original tongues by quoting from the Septuagint a passage to which there is nothing corresponding in the Hebrew. This consideration is for our benefit. For the first readers there was no difficulty. For them, as for the writer, the Septuagint *was* Scripture; and hence throughout the book it is always quoted without hesitation, and apparently without reference to the question how far it corresponded with the Hebrew original. For us the Septuagint is nothing more than a translation, sometimes accurate, sometimes the reverse, based on a codex which might have many defects. Hence the argument of the epistle cannot always carry with us the weight it had with the first readers. Nor is it necessary it should. What we have mainly to do with is the essential teaching, the principles which the arguments are adduced to establish. Arguments are for an age, principles are for all time.

Why did the writer take the citation from Deuteronomy rather than from the psalm? Possibly because it was the first place in Scripture where the thought occurred; possibly because he found the thought embedded there in a passage Messianic in its scope, on the second of the two principles above enunciated: for therein Jehovah is represented as appearing in the latter days for the deliverance of Israel by the judgment of her and His adversaries. If the Messianic reference be admitted, of course the use of the text in a eulogy on the Son is legitimate. But we observe that the writer calls the Son the "first begotten," and speaks of Him as introduced into the inhabited world on the occasion to which the text refers. Whence the title? and what is meant by this introduction? As to the title, the writer possibly regarded it as implicitly contained in the texts quoted in ver. 5; or he may have had in his mind



the words, "I will make him my first born," occurring in Psalm lxxxix. 27, which, like the first two texts, refers to the promise made to David through Nathan. In the latter case, the use of the title here is virtually the introduction of another quotation illustrative of the excellent name conferred on the Son. It is as if he had written: "Unto which of the angels said He at any time, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee? And again: I will be to Him a Father, and He shall be to me a Son; and again: I will make Him My first begotten."

By these texts the Son is placed in a position of peerless eminence, in a unique relation to God. The next text, that taken from Deuteronomy, assigns to the angels, though also called sons of God in Scripture, the lowly position of worshippers. "Let all the angels of God worship Him." Such is the order given out "when He bringeth in the First-begotten into the world." What does this mean? Does the writer think of the generation of the Son as eternal, and speak of the introduction into the world in relation thereto? In that case we must interpret his meaning thus: The Son is eternally the Father's first begotten. As such He is eternally worthy to be worshipped. Accordingly, when first the eternal Son is introduced into the world of men, and on the stage of history, He is announced as one entitled to receive homage even from those who rank highest in the scale of created beings. The antithesis is between eternal Sonship before the world was, and manifestation in the world as the worshipped Lord. The style is dramatic, as in chap. v. 10, "Hailed, saluted by God, High Priest after the order of Melchisedec!" It is poetry, not dogmatic theology.

Some find in the text an implied antithesis between a first and a second introduction of the Son into the *oikoumene*, and understand the writer as referring to the later event; that is, to the second coming of the Son from

heaven, at the end of the world, accompanied by a host of angels. Their chief grounds are the fact that the place in Deuteronomy from which the text is taken speaks of judgment, and the position of "again" (πάλιν) in the sentence requiring us to render, not "and again when," but "and when again," and naturally suggesting connexion with the nearest verb: "And when *again* He bringeth in." Against this however is the previous use of the πάλιν in ver. 5, to introduce a second quotation. It is natural to suppose that it is used a second time in the same way to introduce a third quotation, and if the writer had meant to hint at a second introduction into the world the probability is that he would have used another word signifying a second time, say δεύτερον. Further, how very unlikely that he would in this abrupt way refer to a second coming without any mention of the first! It is therefore much more probable that the "again" is to be taken with "He saith," that is, as introducing another quotation, and that its transposition is to be regarded as a rhetorical negligence such as might occur in our own speech; for we also might say or write, "When, again," etc., when we meant "again, when." The aorist of the verb rendered "bringeth in" in our Authorized Version has been referred to as a difficulty, as requiring the rendering "shall have brought in." But a certain incongruity remains even on that rendering; for the present tense, "He saith," does not suit the future perfect.<sup>1</sup> On the whole therefore I have little hesitation in adhering to the translation as it stands in our version. I have no

<sup>1</sup> Our Revisers have treated εἰσαγωγή as a present, though putting the future perfect rendering in the margin. But the grammarians insist that the aorist subjunctive with ἔταν must always be rendered as a future perfect. Be it so; in the present instance future from what point of view? From the writer's living in the end of the days, or from the day when the Son is begotten? We may conceive him placing himself back in the eternal "to-day" of the Son's generation, and looking forward into time. So viewed, the "when He shall have brought the First-begotten into the world" might refer to an event happening at any time in the world's history.

dogmatic bias against the other rendering, for even if it were certain that the writer understood his quotation as referring to the second coming, and as conferring on Christ a claim to the homage of angels in that connexion, it would not follow that he meant to negative a similar claim for any other period in Christ's history. He might say, Christ according to the Scriptures is to be worshipped by the angels at His second coming, and believe that He was also to be worshipped by them even in the state of humiliation. And may not we believe the same? When was Christ ever more worthy to be worshipped? The angels did worship Him then, unless they be incapable of appreciating Divine self-sacrifice, and, like men of the world, know no other test of worth except external position; honouring not goodness, but the pedestal it stands on.

The quotation we have been considering refers indirectly to angels, assigning to them a place of subordination to the Son. The one which follows in ver. 7 refers to them directly. It is the only one of the seven quotations which does contain a direct statement concerning the angels, so that it is of great importance as revealing the writer's conception of their position in the universe. In reference to this quotation there is a preliminary question of legitimacy to be considered. The words are an exact reproduction of the Septuagint version of Psalm civ. 4; their sense in English being, "who maketh His angels *winds* (not spirits, as in A.V.), and His ministers a flame of fire." But it has been doubted whether the Greek version is a correct rendering of the Hebrew. It is held by some commentators of good name, including Calvin, that the proper translation is, "who maketh the winds His messengers, and flaming fire His ministers"; according to which the passage contains no reference whatever to angels. And it must be confessed that a reference to angels seems out of place in the connexion of thought. The psalm is a Hymn of

Creation—a free poetic version of creation's story; and in the foregoing context the psalmist praises God as the Maker of the light, and of the visible heavens, and of the clouds, and of the waters; and one expects to read in such a connexion of wind and fire, but not of angels. Recent Hebrew scholarship however defends the Septuagint version, and the opinion gains ground that it faithfully reflects the original. In that case there is no question of legitimacy, but while a doubt remains the question will intrude itself. Of what value is a statement concerning angels occurring merely in the Septuagint, and having nothing answering to it in the Hebrew text? And the reply must be similar to that given in connexion with the previous quotation from Deuteronomy. The words express a scriptural idea, if not an idea to be found in that particular place. It occurs in the preceding psalm, the one hundred and third. The words, "Bless the Lord, ye His angels, that excel in strength, that do His commandments, hearkening unto the voice of His word: bless ye the Lord, all ye His hosts, ye ministers of His that do His pleasure," suggest the idea of a multitude of ministering spirits who surround the throne of the Sovereign of the universe, and who are continually receiving commissions and being sent on errands in the administration of the Divine King—essentially the same idea as that contained in the text quoted from Psalm civ. "Who," asks Ebrard (who regards the Septuagint version as a mistranslation), "would find fault with a preacher who preached an excellent sermon on the words, 'The heart of a man is a defiant and desponding thing?' (Luther's version of the text rendered in the English Bible 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.')

The thought is biblical, though it does not occur in that particular place. Even so here."

With reference to angels then He saith, "Who maketh His angels winds, and His ministers a flame of fire." Is



this a poetic comparison suggestive of swift movement and mighty power? or is it a statement concerning the nature of angels—implying that angels are transformable into winds and flames; in fact, that they are the elements and forces of nature (as we speak) under another name? It may have been poetry at first, but it tended, as time went on, to become dogmatic prose. In the Jewish theory of the universe, angelic agency occupied substantially the same place as physical causation in ours. Hence there were as many angels as things or events. “There is not a thing in the world,” saith the Talmud, “not even a tiny blade of grass, over which there is not an angel set.” I think however, that what the writer of our epistle was chiefly interested in, was not the physical constitution, so to speak, of the angels, but their functions; not that they were fire-like or wind-like, but that they were messengers and ministers. This is what he finds said of them in the one representative text he quotes concerning them. This is the name they have inherited. Christ is called the Son, the First-begotten, a Divine King, the Creator. They are called simply ministers, mere instruments like the will-less, unconscious elements. No word of rule or dominion, only of service. Why did the writer, having quoted Deuteronomy in reference to the First-begotten, not quote from the same chapter those words concerning the angels, “He fixed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God,” suggesting the idea that each nation has set over it an angelic prince?

Now having done with detailed comment and criticism of texts, let us note the contrast which runs through this group of quotations concerning Christ and the angels. Properly there is only one radical contrast, but it has three phases; *viz.* Son and servants, King and subjects, Creator and creatures. Christ is the Son of God, angels are the servants of God. They too are sons, but in comparison

with the sonship of the First-begotten their sonship is not worthy to be mentioned, and is not mentioned. They simply appear as ministers of the Divine will. This is the contrast suggested in vers. 5-7. Then, secondly, Christ is a Divine King, sitting on a throne of omnipotence exercised in behalf of righteousness. The angels are His subjects. For the God who maketh His angels winds is none other than the God who sits on the throne of righteousness. Formally He is to be distinguished from the latter, inasmuch as He is represented as addressing the Son: "To the Son He saith." But the King is the Creator, and it is the Creator and Governor of the world who maketh His angels winds. This contrast between King and subjects is contained in vers. 7-9. Finally, Christ is the Creator, and the angels are His creatures: He everlasting; they, like all created beings, perishable. Creatureliness is not expressly predicated of angels in the last quotation (vers. 10-12), but it is implied in the comparison of them to winds and flames, which connects them with the elements and involves them in their doom. The one statement concerning angels in ver. 7 stands in antithesis to the two following statements concerning the Son: "With regard to the angels, He saith," etc., but with regard to the Son, that He is a Divine King, and also that He is a Divine Creator. Even the rabbis thought of the angels as perishable like all other creatures. "Day by day," they said, "the angels of service are created out of the fire-stream, and sing a song and disappear, as is said in Lamentations iii. 23, 'They are new every morning.'" This final contrast is contained in ver. 7 and vers. 10-12.

The writer concludes his argument with a final statement about the angels in interrogative form. "Are they not *all ministering* spirits?" He brings the whole class under the category of service, not dominion, for the words "all" and "ministering" are emphatic. None are excepted, not even

the highest in rank, not even the princes of the nations, who rule not but act as tutelary spirits, guardian angels. The statement that they all *serve* is absolute, not merely relative to the kingdom of redemption, concerning which a supplementary statement is made in the closing words, "being sent forth for ministry for the sake of those who are about to inherit salvation." Service is not an incident in the history of angels; it is their whole history.

This category suits the nature of angels so far as we have the means of knowing it. They are associated with the elements and powers of nature—are these under another name. They are changeable in form, appearing now as winds, now as fire. They are perishable, transient, as the pestilence and the storm, as tongues of flame, or the clouds, or the dew. They are one and many in turn: the one splitting up into the many, and the many recombining into one. They are impersonal, or imperfectly personal, lacking will and self-consciousness. Thinking, deliberating, resolving is not their affair, but execution: "Ye ministers of His that do His pleasure." They are incapacitated for rule by the simplicity of their nature. The angel-princes cannot take a wide survey of a nation's character and desert, like the prophets. They are blind partisans, mere personifications of national spirit. As a matter of course each angel-prince takes his nation's side in a quarrel. The prince of Persia is on the side of Persia, and the prince of Greece on the side of Greece. A human will is the meeting-place of many forces brought into harmony; an angelic will is a single force moving in a straight line towards a point. Angels are mere manifestations or expressions of the will of God. To impute to them dominion were to infringe on the monarchy of God; it were to reinstate paganism. Angel-worship is nature-worship under another name, not improved by the change of name. No wonder the author of our epistle is so careful to connect angels with the idea

of service. It is his protest against the angelolatry which had crept into Israel from Persian sources.

In chap. ii. 1-4 we have the first of those exhortations which come in at intervals throughout the epistle, relieving the argument and applying it at each point. This exhortation reveals the purpose of the foregoing comparison between Christ and the angels. It is to establish Christ's superior claim to be heard when He speaks in God's name to men. As in Stephen's speech before the Sanhedrim, and in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, angelic agency in Divine revelation is recognised, that is, in the revelation of the law on Sinai. How far the recognition expresses personal conviction in either of these instances, or is merely an accommodation to existing opinion, need not be discussed. It is enough in the present instance to say that the writer is aware of current modes of thought, and if he does not sympathise with them, at least accommodates his reasoning to them so far as to regard the law as a "word spoken by angels."

Law and gospel might have been compared on their own merits, as is done by Paul in 2 Corinthians iii. 6 in a series of contrasts. But the power of appreciating the gospel being defective in the Hebrew Christians, it is the merits of the speakers that is insisted on, though the incomparable worth of the gospel is implicitly asserted in the phrase, "so great salvation." The admonition, delicately expressed in the first person, is to this effect: "I have shown how vastly greater Christ is than angels in name and dignity. In proportion to the august dignity of Him by whom God hath in the end of the days spoken to men ought to be the attention paid to His words. Let us then give due, even the most earnest possible, heed to the things which, directly or indirectly, we have heard from His lips, out of respect to Him, and also out of regard to our own spiritual interests,



which are imperilled by negligence. Respecting as we do the word of angels, let us respect more His word."

Why should there be any difficulty in acting on such reasonable counsel? Because the word of Christ is new, and the word of angels is old, and has the force of venerable custom on its side. This difference is hinted at in the words, "lest at any time (or haply) we drift away." The figure is a very significant one. It warns the Hebrews to beware lest they be carried away from the salvation preached by Christ, the blessings of the kingdom of God, as a boat is carried past the landing-place by the strong current of a river. The warning is of permanent value. For there are currents of thought and feeling and action on which men are afloat, and which if not resisted carry down to the sea of spiritual death: currents of irreligion, worldliness, and the like. But the current by which the Hebrews were in danger of being carried headlong was that of established religious custom, which in transition times is specially perilous. By this current they were in danger of being carried away from the gospel and Christ and the eternal hope connected with faith in Him down to the Dead Sea of Judaism, and so of being involved in the calamities which were soon to overwhelm in ruin the unbelieving Jewish nation. How much is suggested by those two words *μή ποτε παραρῶμεν*! They warn against national ruin, if not the loss eternal of the soul; they indicate as the cause of risk the strong current of use and wont, flowing away from the new world of Christianity towards the old world of Judaism, difficult to stem because so strong, its very strength appearing a reason why no resistance should be offered: for why go against an almost unanimous public opinion? what danger in following the multitude? How apt men situated as the Hebrew Christians were are to say: We follow the religious customs of our pious forefathers, we observe the word of God spoken to them by angels on Sinai

millenniums ago; therefore we dread no evil, though we neglect the doctrine of Jesus, which requires us to break with the old and take up with something new and revolutionary.

The exhortation to give heed to Christ's teaching is enforced by three reasons: It is the teaching of the Lord; the penalty of neglect is great; the teaching is well attested. The word of the great salvation began to be spoken *by the Lord*. The Lord means for the Hebrew readers Christ seated on His heavenly throne. The gospel is the word spoken by one who is now the exalted Lord, and the writer would have his readers view it in the light of that fact. It is a way of lending importance by external considerations to a doctrine not appreciated on its own merits. For himself the gospel stands on its own merits. It does not need to be invested with the glory of the exaltation in order to receive his attention. It is welcome to him as the word of the man Jesus. The man Jesus is for him Lord, even in His humble earthly state. He does not need to think of Him as sitting on His heavenly throne that he may be enabled to resist the temptation to give less heed to His word than to that spoken through angels on Sinai. The temptation does not exist for him. In comparison with the words of Jesus recorded in the gospels the law is as moonlight to sunlight. It is to be feared that those who are otherwise minded will get little help from the thought that He who spake these words is now glorified. It is not true faith which needs the exaltation to open its eyes. To such faith the exalted One says, "I was a stranger, and ye took Me not in."

The word spoken through angels may appear a very solemn matter. Yet after all it was a word at second-hand. The law was given by God to angels, then by angels to Moses, who in turn gave it to Israel. The gospel came from God immediately, for Jesus was God incarnate speaking to men in human form.

The penalty of neglecting this last word of God is great. "How shall we escape?" The penalty is enhanced by the nature of the word. It is a word of grace, of salvation. The old word was a word of duty. But it is far more culpable to sin against love than against law, to despise God's mercy than to break His commandments. If breaches of the law had penalties attached, what must be the consequence of despising the gospel? The question needs no answer; every man can answer it for himself.

For those who scorn arguments drawn from fear of consequences a more genial inducement is added. The teaching of Christ is well attested. The word which took its beginning from Jesus was afterwards confirmed by them who heard Him, their word being in turn confirmed by various miraculous accompaniments. The writer means to say that he and those to whom he writes, though not enjoying the advantage of having heard Jesus Himself speak the words of salvation, are put practically by this twofold attestation in the same position as those who did hear Him. In a sense the doctrine comes to them at second-hand, through the medium of the companions of Jesus; but the teaching of the apostles is only an echo of the teaching of their Lord. Their voice is but His voice repeated. They simply report what they have seen and heard, the deeds and the sayings of their Master; their competency and honesty being guaranteed by the miraculous powers conferred upon them. It is obvious that the claim thus made to be virtually in the position of personal hearers of Jesus implies a knowledge of His teaching such as we possess by means of the Synoptical Gospels. I say the Synoptical Gospels, because in the view of even some believing theologians, such as Weiss, the form in which Christ's words appear in the Fourth Gospel is, to a certain extent, secondary, the writer acting not merely as a reporter but as an interpreter. It is not necessary to suppose

that the author of our epistle was acquainted with our Gospels, but we are justified by the manner in which he expresses himself in thinking that he was familiar with the evangelic tradition whereof we have the written record in our Synoptical Gospels. The impression created by a perusal of the epistle bears out this view. The image of Christ presented therein rests on a solid basis of fact. The writer knows of the temptations of Jesus, of His life of faith, and the scope that His experience afforded for the exercise of faith, of His agony in the garden, of the contradictions He endured at the hands of ignorant, prejudiced, evil-minded men; of His gentle, compassionate bearing towards the erring; of the fact that He occupied Himself in preaching the gospel of the kingdom; and also of the fact that He was surrounded by a circle of friends and disciples, whose connexion with Him was so close that they could be trusted to give a reliable account of His public ministry. Of course the man who knew so much had the means of knowing much more. It will be interesting and instructive to learn what conception of Christianity is entertained by one who is well acquainted with the historical data lying at the foundation. We observe that the word he employs to denote the subject of Christ's preaching is secondary, reminding us of the style of the apostolic Church rather than of Christ Himself. Christ spoke of the kingdom, our author speaks of "salvation." But let not that be to his prejudice. The word is universally current and convenient, and as good as any other, provided the right meaning be attached to it. We shall find that the thing so named is presented under many aspects, citizenship in the kingdom, though not prominent, being included among them.

A. B. BRUCE.

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*THE TEACHING OF CHRIST CONCERNING THE  
USE OF MONEY.*

THE study of the New Testament teachings concerning the responsibility attached to the ownership of property is important at the present time for a number of reasons. Not the least of these is, that the disturbing social questions of the day are mainly questions concerning money. To the three corner-stones of the social order found in the family, the State, and the Church, must be added a fourth, the ownership of property. Socialism and anarchism have made assaults, now on one, sometimes on all these elements of social security. The breadth and catholicity of the Christian faith is illustrated not only by its adaptation to national peculiarities and eras of history and forms of government, but in the wonderful way in which it connects itself with every human interest and applies its remedies to every social order. It has a general principle for every particular case, as when the two brothers came to Christ with the request that He should be judge in their quarrel concerning a legacy. His answer was not a definite rule but a principle: "Beware of covetousness."

The modern movements of socialism are doubtlessly unwise in their methods, but the Christian Church in its study of social questions may ask itself whether in the means used to accumulate wealth, and in the uses that are made of it by nominally Christian men, there is not some ground for the mutterings of discontent heard on every hand. To the duties and responsibilities that go with the ownership of property, religion assuredly directs our attention. As the essence of evil is selfishness and the essence of Christianity is self-sacrifice, and as selfishness is most easily fostered by our material possessions, we find Christ applying the precepts of the new life directly to the duties involved

in the ownership of property. The Master had behind Him the teaching of the Mosaic law, not only in the tithe, and the sacrifice, and the temple gifts, but in the fundamental moral law itself, for it contained three laws out of ten aimed at evils growing out of the love of money ;—theft, coveting, and labour on the Sabbath for worldly gain.

My task at this time is to point out some of those things which Christ said about the use and the misuse of money.

And in the first place, our attention may be called to the fact, that He had very many things to say concerning it. It is surprising to find how many things, if, with special reference to this theme, we study carefully His teachings. From the opening of the first general discourse reported in the gospels, to the end of His last general discourse to the people, His teachings abound in comments, injunctions, and commands, relating to property, and to that intimate relation which our ways of regarding it and gaining it, of holding it and using it, bear to the moral character and the spiritual life.

The general principle is laid down in the Sermon on the Mount. The breadth and depth of the Master's wisdom concerning property, and the large place He gave to this theme in His instruction, are accounted for in the keynote of this sublime discourse. Covetousness is here treated as a general principle of selfishness, and money, when supremely loved, is personified as a being worshipped in the place of God. The whole passage in the sixth of Matthew from the 19th verse, beginning with the words, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on the earth," down to the close of the chapter, turns on one idea, that the love and the service of God stand for all that is right and good in human conduct, while the inordinate love of possessions stands as a kind of evil representing the whole spirit of selfishness. Riches are personified under the name of Mammon, and we are warned that we cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time.

We may be masters of Mammon, making riches our servant, and remain uncorrupt, but we cannot remain pure and be the servant of Mammon. The point is whether money shall be the servant of man, or man the servant of money. The whole discussion turns on the heart's allegiance and supreme love. To love and worship that which is above ourselves, ennobles; to love and worship that which is beneath us, degrades.

The general principle therefore is here laid down, that one of the first things to be considered by a would-be disciple is a question of relationship between himself and his property. We may be assured that when among all the forms of evil spoken in the Sermon on the Mount, money was the only one personified as a being whose worship was antagonistic to the worship of God, it was no thoughtless choice on the part of Christ. He did not use language carelessly, and He declared that the greed of gain cannot exist in the same mind and heart with the love of God. By no artifice of reconciliation of opposites can a man love property supremely and love God at the same time.

Out of this general principle grew all those striking sayings of His which have embedded themselves in the literature of the world. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on the earth"; "Give unto him that asketh of thee"; "How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven!" "Beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth";—sentiments which were afterwards woven into all the writings of the apostles with a beautiful simplicity and in most weighty and powerful forms of statement.

Still more striking are the *parables* of Christ. Notice that almost all of these are stories which represent the relations of men to earthly possessions. In all parables we look for two things—the primary statement, and the spiritual interpretation. I am not now referring to the spiritual,

or theological interpretation which may be put upon the parables, but of their framework as primary statements,—that is, the story by itself, and standing on its own merits; and it is surprising that when thus considered they show in manifold forms how closely the thought of Christ judged the Christian's conduct and the Christian's heart by a criterion based on his relation to property and his relation to money.

Some illustrations may be given. In the parable of "The Sower" peculiar emphasis is laid on the third failure, where the good seed escaping the perils of the birds by the wayside and of the thin soil overlying the granite ledge, grows up, but comes to nothing, the maturity of Christian character being finally prevented by the cares of the world and the deceitfulness of riches. The parable of "The Tares" portrays the sin of injuring another man's property and business;—there are other ways of doing it than the literal one of sowing tares in his field of wheat. The parable of "The Hid Treasure"—a man finding which goes and buys the field—shows how we may injure another by concealing from him the true value of that which we purchase of him. The parable of "The Unmerciful Servant" turns on the hard-heartedness of a creditor who, having just been forgiven a debt he owed to his lord, went forth and took his debtor by the throat, saying, "Pay me what thou owest me." The parable of "The Labourers in the Vineyard" teaches a merciful discrimination in the payment of wages. The parable of "The Two Sons" intimates how largely children are indebted to their parents in labour and service. "The Wicked Husbandmen," "The Unjust Steward," and the "Talents," teach the great lesson of the accountability of all who hold property in trust, and that needed sense of honour, the lack of which is such a prolific source of crime and disgrace in our day. "The Friend at Midnight,"—the story of the person coming to borrow bread—shows the close



relationship of men to each other as to material things, their dependence on each other for help and kindness, and the obligation to give and lend. The story of the "Good Samaritan" turns on the obligation to give alms to those who are in need, and couples itself with Christ's pathetic words, "the poor ye have always with you." The story of the Rich Fool, who congratulated himself that he had much goods laid up for many years, is an exhibition of the folly of making the whole of life to consist of the abundance of things to eat and drink and wear; and while the parable of "The Rich Man and Lazarus" teaches us how we may sin in the hoarding of money, the parable of "The Prodigal Son" teaches us how we may sin in spending it.

Remarkable, is it not? that in the long list of parables spoken by our Lord, the ownership of property, the use and misuse of money, are never for once lost sight of, and are put before us in every imaginable phase of forcible and beautiful statement.

The power and beauty of conception, the wealth of illustration in these stories, as shedding light on our theme, may be seen when we examine one or two of these parables a little more minutely.

Take the parable of the "Prodigal Son." It illustrates one of the ways in which covetousness operates, or rather it shows how property may become the instrument of evil. Covetousness sometimes wastes money upon ignoble pleasures. A man covets wealth not to hoard it but to spend it upon his lusts. When we are warned against covetousness in Scripture and books and sermons, we usually think of the hoarding miser, but all the covetous people are not misers. The prodigal coveted his patrimony that he might spend it; and he did spend it in riotous excess and with reckless waste.

This was his sin: he wanted property to use in sensual self-indulgence. Every one will recall the fact that the

word *prodigal*, in itself considered, has no reference to sensuality, or a riotous way of life. It is mainly by our familiarity with the Bible and the association of the old English word with this story that we have come to regard it in that way. The word prodigal means *lavish in expenditure of money* for whatever purpose. And it is a striking illustration of the breadth of Christ's teaching, and that no aspects of truth are left untouched in the rounded fulness of His instruction, that the wasting of money is set forth as an evil as well as the hoarding of it. The word prodigal does not of itself indicate how he wasted his money. He is not stigmatized as "The Sensual Son," he is not called "The Intemperate Son," nor "The Riotous Son," nor the "Betrayers of Women," the world has agreed in calling him the Prodigal Son, the man who recklessly flung away his inherited wealth; and it ought not to be forgotten that the parable out of which so much spiritual truth has been drawn, and rightly so, and from which so many religious and even theological doctrines have been deduced, is at bottom the story of a man who squandered his fortune. It is worthy of our notice therefore, that the parable which represents in allegory the greatest spiritual distance to which a man can wander from God, and yet find the door of repentance open, is the story of one who coveted money that he might throw it away.

The applications of this lesson to our own times, as well as to the nations which died of luxury, will occur to every thoughtful mind. In the midst of the luxury, excess, and profusion of material comforts which characterize our modern life, it can do us no harm to remember that Christ taught us that it is no more right to waste money than to be miserly with it. To spend it in ministering to vanity, or in purchasing political favours, or in buying the pleasures that corrupt ourselves or our fellow men, is as bad as to deny ourselves the lawful and needed use of it

for the sake of hoarding it. Lavish generosity for bad purposes is not a praiseworthy liberality. Christ set upon it the ineffaceable stigma of His condemnation. He chose the spendthrift as the form of character by which to represent one of the lowest forms of degradation to which human nature can descend, in order that He might paint in unfading colours the corresponding great love and mercy of God. He paints him at the end of his inglorious career as the keeper of swine, a hungry beggar for whom no man cared, forlorn to the last degree in his feelings and in his surroundings—a sinner in spending money as other men are sinners in hoarding it; that we who profess to be His disciples may learn from the prodigal's lavish expenditure upon his animal pleasures, that we are to have a care how we spend as well as how we save.

In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, the thrilling story that the world will never forget, nor can forget if it would, we find outlined in startling incident and colour another phase of the abuse of money. Very little is said about the character of the rich man in other respects: he is not said to be sensual, nor dishonest, nor cruel; he is neither a prodigal, nor a robber of other men's goods. He lived in a respectable manner of life. No overt act of transgression is mentioned against him. His purple and fine linen and daily sumptuous fare marked him as one of those conservative and respectable gentlemen who would be admitted into the most select circles of ancient or modern society. His sins were passive and not active. He took little notice of Lazarus, the beggar who was laid at his gates with no friends save the dogs that licked his sores. That is about all; till, all at once the curtain falls, the scene is shifted, and when we look again the rich man is in Hades, lifting his eyes in the midst of torment to behold the beggar in that state of joy and felicity which the Rabbins described as being in Abraham's bosom. The parable is a magnificent

work of literary art. We see the truth with the naked eye of the mind. No glass of curious reasoning and analysis, no lens of metaphysical insight is needed to understand the meaning. We forget the language in which the story is told because we do not need to remember it. One *sees* the picture. It is burnt into the brain as with the vivid colours of the painter's art. Here is the table of the rich man sumptuously spread; there the beggar at the gate full of sores. Here is Dives in the place of misery; there the beggar resting amid the peace and splendour of Paradise. All is remembered, not as you remember reflections and reasonings, but as you remember a great painting. But underlying it all and running through it all, this is to be remembered;—that a parable which has been unfolded and interpreted with scholarly ingenuity and gorgeous phrase by Chrysostom, and Augustine, and Massillon, and by every eloquent orator of the pulpit from the earliest days of the Church until now, turns on the relation of a man to his money. For while we are not to infer that this reversal of fortune beyond the grave was on account of the possession or the lack of wealth in this world, while we are not to infer that Dives lost his soul because he was rich and that Lazarus entered into heavenly felicity because he was poor, while we may not infer that all rich people are bad and all poor people good, we may infer that this reversal and change after death was on account of some subtle relation which in this particular instance did exist between these men and their outward fortune; we must infer that the rich man while not necessarily guilty for being rich became guilty through that supreme regard for money and the things that money can purchase which made him heartless and indifferent towards his neighbour's need, and that having made such a choice, carried his choice with him over into the next world, and found that such a choice there could yield him nothing. The moral responsibility of riches was



a matter to which he had given little attention. He spent his money carefully and respectably upon his own pleasures. We are not told that the poor man received even the crumbs that fell from the table. I need not moralize upon it. It is sufficient to point out that this parable is one of the many ways in which our Saviour turns and turns again this great theme of the uses of money, with what patience He does it, with what endless forms of memorable and thrilling speech, and in its every imaginable phase.

To show in another way how thorough and complete was our Lord's treatment of this theme, how He dwelt on the bearing which our use of money and all our relations to it have upon the spiritual life, we may quote His instruction concerning a traditional custom of His time among the Jews, wherein a man by devoting certain property to the uses of religion could absolve himself from natural moral obligations. "Ye reject the commandment of God," He says, "that ye may keep your own tradition. For whereas Moses said, 'Honour thy father and mother,' ye say that if a son shall say, '*It is corban,*' that is, devoted to the altar, concerning any piece of property which might be a help to his parents, he shall be free from obligation to them, thus making the word of God of none effect." We sometimes see the same principle encouraged and practised in our day. We sometimes see religious objects of benevolence supported with extravagant outlay at the expense of humane and natural charities. We see men negligent of the needs of their neighbours while they give willingly to sectarian enterprises. Christ teaches that we have no more right to spend unlawful money for good objects, than we have to spend good money for bad purposes.

And then right over against this, as it to show how many-sided is truth, and as if to warn us against the mistake of over-emphasizing the letter of a single instruction, there is a beautiful incident related in the gospels, wherein

Christ improved the occasion for showing that there *may* be times when the religious zeal of a generous heart may be forgiven for passing by ordinary philanthropic claims to pour out its all upon the altar of a loving Christian devotion. A woman who had been a sinner, her heart all warm with gratitude to Him who had renewed her life and character, comes and pours out upon His feet the contents of a box of costly nard, and on another occasion, Mary offers the same gift in the anointing of His head; and when the disciples complain of the extravagance, and declare that this expensive offering,—worth a year's wages of a labouring man in the East,—might have been given to the poor, Christ said: "Why trouble ye the woman? she hath wrought a good work upon Me. The poor ye have always with you; but Me ye have not always. This anointing is for My burial. Verily I say unto you, Wherever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, which this woman hath done, be told as a memorial of her."

And lest any person should assume that this theme does not apply to them on the score that they are not rich, we may cite Christ's words concerning the gift of the widow who in her two mites gave, as He declared, more than all rich men and princes. Riches are relative, not absolute. There is no standard or fixed figure which when a man reaches he may be called a rich man. He is rich who has aught that he can impart to his fellow men. It is required of a man according to what he hath and not according to what he hath not. He may have no money, but he may have learning, talent, and wisdom which he may use for others; nay, he may have no learning, no talent, no wisdom, but he may have a heart, he may have Christian sympathy, he may have a hand of help and an eye of kindness, and whoever giveth but a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, shall not lose his reward. And if any man,

whether he have what men call riches or not, seeth his brother in any need of that which he can supply, if it be no more than a kind word, but still shutteth up his heart of compassion against his brother, how dwelleth the love of God in him?

One more specimen of the many forms of our Saviour's teaching on this theme. It occurs in the last discourse of Christ to the people. The general theme is the judgment of the nations. Even here He does not forget that selfishness is the essence of evil, and that it takes strongest root in our love for material possessions. The panorama is unrolled. Men are separated before the Judge as sheep from goats in the herdsman's pastures. And what is the point on which the decision turns? What is the index of moral distinctions and of the estimates to be put upon character? Not professed belief in God, though Christ laid strong emphasis upon that; not ecclesiastical connexions, though they are important; not acceptance of a formulated creed, though that is desirable: but this was it;—ye did not feed the hungry, nor give drink to the thirsty, nor visit those who were sick and in prison. And in not doing these things to them ye did not do them to Christ Himself. For every one in need, He says, is My representative on earth, and wherever the sons and daughters of want are found, there I am, and if ye had possessed a gentle heart, and had exercised kindness towards them, ye would have done a service unto Me.

Thus the Founder of Christianity has kept before us through all His teachings down to the very close of His ministry, the spiritual perils that are involved in our relations to the property which we possess, and has enforced the importance of our ways of using it as a criterion for the judgment of character. It is safe to say that there is no other application of religion to practical life in His teachings that occupies anything like so large a place.

The very facts of His life are in this direction significant. It was in a journey made to be enrolled for the Roman taxation that His mother found the stable of the inn, far from the Nazarene home ; it was in His forerunner's preaching that we find the message to the citizens, "He that hath two coats, let him give to him that hath none," and to the publicans, "Exact no more than that which was appointed you," and to the soldiers, "Be content with your wages" ; it was one of His converts who exclaimed as the first evidence of conversion, "One half my goods I give to the poor, and if I have defrauded any I will restore unto him fourfold" ; it was to pay a just tax as a citizen of the Jewish State that He displayed His miraculous power in finding a coin ; it was in His disavowal of the ownership of property, declaring that He had not where to lay His head, that we discern His low estimate of riches ; it was His warnings against covetousness that were so strangely confirmed in the ignoble bargain that delivered Him to death for thirty pieces of silver ; while the only saying of Jesus quoted in the epistles which is not found in the gospels is the sentence preserved by St. Paul : "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

The discovery of the emphasis Christ laid upon this theme strikes one with something like surprise. "We might have thought," says John Ruskin, "if we had been asked what a Divine teacher would be most likely to teach, that He would have left to inferior persons to give directions about money, and Himself only spoken concerning faith and love and the discipline of the passions and the guilt of crimes of soul against soul. But not so. He speaks in general terms of these. But He does not speak parables about them for all men's memory, nor permit Himself fierce indignation against them in all men's sight. The Pharisees bring Him an adulteress. He writes her forgiveness on the dust of which He had formed her. Another, de-



spised of all for known sin, He recognised as the giver of unknown love. But with a whip of small cords He drives out of the temple traffickers and thieves; while the practical command to the only seeker of advice of whom it is recorded that Jesus loved him, is, briefly, about his property: "Sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.'"

And it may not be amiss to observe here, that the importance of what Christ taught is to be taken into the account, apart from any and all theories that men may hold as to the nature of His person and the rightfulness of His claims. Whatever a man's theory may be concerning Christ and Christianity, he cannot refuse to give sober attention to the fact that one whose life has been written and spoken into the hearts of so many men, whose personality, teachings, and moral power have been, as some one has said, "ploughed into the very history of the world," and whose influence has had such a prodigious effect upon mankind, should have said so many things concerning the one item of money and its spiritual perils, and that those sayings were among the most emphatic and memorable of His instructions.

F. F. EMERSON.

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## NOTES ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

(XV.—XIX.)

XV. 6. λόγου is here again translated *matter* in our versions, as in viii. 21; a sense which it never bears. There is no reason to depart from the literal rendering *Word*: for the question which brought the council together at Jerusalem was the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles; which is here designated as *this Word*. They met to consider what terms should be offered to Gentile converts as the condition of their admission to the privilege of Christian baptism.

xv. 7. The words ἐν ὑμῖν must not be attached to ἐξελέξατο, as in our versions, "*made choice among you*"—otherwise the order would have been ἐξελέξατο ἐν ὑμῖν—but to ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων. Without this addition the word ἀρχαίων would point to Old Testament days, as it does in v. 21, rather than to early Christian days. The preposition ἀπό marks the time at which an event happened, where the speaker desires to indicate how long ago it was; and should therefore be rendered, not *from*, but *in early days among you*.

xv. 9. Our versions ignore the difference between πίστει and τῇ πίστει. It is not suggested that the hearts of the Gentiles had been cleansed by the mere presence of *faith* as an inward disposition of mind, but by *the faith*; i.e. by their believing in Christ and embracing Christianity. The distinction is of importance in many passages of the New Testament, and is specially marked in Rom. iii. 30; where Israelite faith in the true God apart from the Christian faith is declared to be a justifying and saving faith, "God will justify the circumcision by faith (ἐκ πίστεως)": but of the Gentiles it is said that He would justify them through the instrumentality of the faith in Christ (διὰ τῆς πίστεως).

The Apostles did not ascribe a cleansing and justifying virtue to a mere sentiment of faith apart from its object and from the knowledge of the true God.

xv. 10. The language of our versions, "*Why tempt ye God?*" does not convey the force of the rebuke so clearly as the Greek *πειράζετε*. They were *making trial of God*, how far His patience would endure with them, by imposing upon the Gentiles a yoke which had proved too heavy for Israel, and which God had pronounced needless for the disciples by His grant of His Holy Spirit to the uncircumcised.

xv. 11. Salvation is spoken of in the Greek text as immediate rather than future; moreover the Greek order of words lays stress on the doctrine that Israelites depend for salvation on the grace of the Lord Jesus, like the Gentile converts: *we trust to be saved, in the same manner as they do, through the grace of the Lord Jesus.*

xv. 15. *συμφωνεῖν* describes a harmony between the utterance of two voices; its object therefore must be either the speaker himself or his language, not the fact recorded by him. Hence *τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσι* does not mean *to this agree*, but *with him*, sc. Symeon, *agree*.

xv. 16. The original passage in Amos (ix. 11) makes no mention of *returning*; and James had no motive for altering the prophet's words in order to introduce it. It is evident by comparison of the language in the two places that *ἀναστρέψω* is here substituted for *ἀναστήσω*, and *κατεστραμμένα* for *κατεσκαμμένα*, as synonymous expressions; and that these two verbs *ἀναστρέφειν* and *καταστρέφειν* are here used by way of antithesis to each other in the sense of *uprear* and *throw down*. It is true that *ἀναστρέφειν* is commonly used of overturning that which stands; but when used with reference to ruined buildings, it makes a natural antithesis to *κατεστραμμένα*.

xv. 17. By *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* are meant *the men* of Israel; in accordance with other prophecies, a remnant only of

them were to be saved after the mass had perished in their unbelief: and this residue was to form the true Israel and worship in the restored temple.

xv. 18. The MSS. leave us no choice but to adopt the same corrected text as the Revised Version, and end the sentence with γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος. Now these words are not quoted from Amos; they are an addition made by James in order to impress upon his hearers the lesson taught by the prophet Amos, for the sake of which he had made the quotation. The lesson was that in the Restoration the Gentiles were to seek the Lord, and that upon them the name of God had been named, as in reality the people of God. This language of God in Amos showed, says James, that these Gentiles were *known* of him *from the beginning of time*; seeing that the prophets of old proclaimed it in His name and by His Spirit. A kindred idea is conveyed in kindred language in iii. 21, "*God spake of the times of restoration by the mouth τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν.*" The additions τῷ θεῷ or τῷ κυρίῳ, found in some MSS., seem to have been made for the better explanation of the meaning of the clause.

xv. 19. The preposition παρά in παρενοχλεῖν conveys an advice *not to trouble* the Gentile converts any *further* than was absolutely necessary for the peaceful association of the two classes of converts. It corresponds to the decision subsequently expressed in the letter to lay upon the Gentiles no greater burden than certain necessary things.

xv. 20. The Greek word ἀλισγημάτων describes a particular kind of *pollutions*, viz. that of unclean food (Dan. i. 8; Mal. i. 7; Eccclus. xl. 29); by *pollutions of idols* are meant those contracted by eating food offered to idols, as is more distinctly expressed in v. 29, and not those of idolatrous worship in general.

xv. 22, 25, 28. ἔδοξε is repeated three times, once in the history and twice in the letter: it is the official term



used in Greek for announcing the decision of a popular assembly. The decrees of the Athenian people for instance were drawn up in the form ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ. It is therefore employed here in like manner to record the decision of the Church, *it pleased the apostles* . . . ; and the substantive δόγματα is afterwards used in speaking of these decisions. This language corresponds to the idea of established government in the Church, which is conveyed by the passage as a whole. V. 23 claims for the voice of the assembled Church the authority of the Spirit; *it hath pleased the Holy Spirit and us*.

xv. 24. ἀνασκευάζοντες, which denotes literally unfurling and breaking up a home, is here transferred by a natural figure to the *unsettlement* of the soul by false teaching: it is an exaggeration to render it *subverting*.

xv. 26. Paul and Barnabas are here designated as men who have surrendered their lives absolutely to the service of Christ. The word παραδεδωκόσι does not refer to any *hazards* which they may have encountered in consequence, but to the complete self-sacrifice of their lives.

xv. 27. It is said of Judas and Silas that they *are themselves also reporting the same by word of mouth*, not that *they shall tell*. The present tense is used because they were commissioned to make a verbal report at the same time that they delivered the letter; for the tenses in Greek letters were constantly adapted to the time at which they were to be read, instead of the time at which they were written.

xv. 30, 33. ἀπολυθέντες and ἀπελύθησαν signify that Judas and Silas were *dispatched* with a formal commission from the Church of Jerusalem to Antioch, and with a formal reply from the Church of Antioch to the letter of which they had been bearers.

xv. 39. παροξυσμός denotes any kind of excitement, good or bad. In the only other passage of the New Testament

in which it occurs, it denotes an excitement to love and good works (Heb. x. 24). But there can be no question that it is used here of *irritation*, as *παροξύνειν* is in 1 Cor. xiii. 5 of provocation to angry temper. Paul and Barnabas took different views, probably as to the whole question of the gospel of the Gentiles, and certainly as to the choice of Mark for their minister, and there was sufficient heat of feeling to induce them to carry on their work apart in future. But there is no suggestion of sharp language or of open quarrel, as is implied in the language of our versions, "*a sharp contention.*"

xvi. 13. *παρὰ ποταμόν* is added to *τῆς πύλης* by way of specifying *the riverside gate* as that at which they went out: for there were no doubt several gates to Philippi. There being no synagogue, nor regular Jewish worship in Philippi, some devout people were in the habit of meeting on the Sabbath in an open space outside this gate for prayer. *ἐνομίζομεν*, *supposed*, does not imply any doubt as to the *place*, which could be easily ascertained, but as to the meeting on that particular Sabbath. *τὴν προσευχὴν* in v. 16 seems to signify the regular meeting for prayer rather than the place of prayer.

xvi. 16. Our versions translate *ἐργασίαν* *gain*, here and at v. 19. The passages of ancient authors adduced in lexicons to support this translation point rather to *employment*; which was only so far connected with *gain*, as often to denote a trade carried on for payment. *παρέχειν ἐργασίαν* means in both places *to provide employment*. The managers, who had control over this afflicted girl, carried on the trade of divination, and made use of her cries, as the managers of the Delphic oracle did of the Pythia's delirious cries, themselves framing out of them answers to those who consulted them: she thus brought them much business in their trade.

xvi. 18, 19. The threefold repetition of *ἐξελεθεῖν* is evidently intentional; and our versions cannot be right in

rendering it, *come out* in v. 18, and *was gone* in v. 19. The *departure* of the evil spirit is directly associated with the *departure* of the diviners' hope of gain. Hence it becomes obvious that the command to the evil spirit was not to *come out of her*, but to *depart from her*. And this is the literal translation of the Greek ἐξελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. The use of the same phrase by Peter in his conscience-stricken appeal to his master, "Depart from me, O Lord," illustrates its application to demoniacs in the language of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The more obvious expression ἐξελεῖν ἐξ is also used in the Gospel of St. Mark, but in a different sense: the command, "hold thy peace and come out of him," did not involve more than an arrest of a violent paroxysm, and is not presented as a cure. The words used to effect a cure were not merely "come out of him," but also "enter no more into him" (Mark ix. 25). For the affliction of these demoniacs did not consist in a continuous possession, but in occasional seizures; it was therefore necessary for their permanent relief that the spirit should not only come out, but also depart from them: and this was expressed in the words ἐξελεῖν ἀπό. Similarly in xix. 12 the term ἐκπορεύεσθαι, signifies not *going out*, but *departure*.

xvi. 25. The literal rendering of κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον, *in the midnight watch*, has a decided advantage over the vague expression *about midnight* in our versions, as it marks the time in the only way that prisoners in the dark could possibly know it, by the watches which the prison guards observed in making their nightly rounds.

xvii. 3. Our versions speak of Paul *alleging* that it behoved the Christ to suffer and to rise again, as though he had adduced arguments of his own; but παρατιθέμενος signifies that as he opened to them the Scriptures he set before them passages proving that these sufferings and resurrection were preordained. The verb is applied elsewhere sometimes to setting food or instruction before

another, sometimes (in middle voice) to the commending oneself and one's interest to the care of another, whether God or man.

xvii. 4. Our versions render *προσεκληρώθησαν* *consorted with*, as though it implied no more than outward companionship. But whether *προσεκληρούσθαι* be middle voice, as I believe, signifying that they *threw in their lot* with Paul and Silas; or passive, signifying that they were associated with them in their lot by God, it implies their complete acceptance of Christianity. The idea of Israel being God's portion (*κληρος θεοῦ*) is common in the LXX., and is transferred in Eph. i. 11 to Christians, who are said to have a portion in Christ assigned them by God (*ἐκληρώθημεν*); so also in Acts xxvi. 18 (*λαβεῖν κληρον*). But the context points here to some action of the Philippians themselves rather than to a Divine appointment.

xvii. 10. Our versions refer the last clause to Paul and Silas; but the indefinite *οἵτινες*, and the verb *ἀπήεσαν* show that the history is referring to the party from Thessalonica, who after they had reached the synagogue of Berea and presented Paul and Silas to them *went away* to their home. By *the synagogue* is meant not the building, but the Jewish congregation of the place, as in vi. 9 and xiii. 43. The escort, being a deputation not otherwise known, are naturally designated by *οἵτινες*, which could not be used of Paul and Silas.

xvii. 12. The Revised Version amplifies the expression, *honourable women* into *women of honourable estate*. But Christian usage follows the best Greek authors in applying *εὐσχήμων* to respectability of life and character, rather than position or estate. In 1 Cor. vii. 35, xii. 23, *εὐσχήμων* and *ἀσχήμων* refer to questions of modesty and decorum.

xvii. 14. There are two readings here, *ὥς* (*ἕως*) *ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*. The first is adopted by the Authorized Version; it expresses in excellent Greek the fact that the Bereans



sent away Paul to go, as it was pretended, to the sea. The second is adopted by the Revised Version, *as far as to the sea*, on the authority of some of the best MSS. But it is very doubtful whether *ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν* can be used in Greek, instead of *ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης*, to define the limit of an actual journey in contrast with its final destination. And it is very probable that *ἕως* found its way into the text from *ἕως Ἀθηνῶν* below, as the correction of a transcriber who could not understand *ὡς*. For the language of v. 15, *ἦγαγον ἕως Ἀθηνῶν*, makes it plain that the party did in fact proceed by land to Athens instead of following the ordinary route by sea. Naturally however they started from Berea *as it were to the sea*, in order to baffle their pursuers.

xvii. 20. The word *strange* in our versions does not adequately express the amazement with which these Athenian philosophers listened to Paul's teaching. *ξενίζοντα* means literally *amazing*, or bewildering. The same verb *ξενίζεσθαι* is rendered again, *think it strange* in 1 Pet. iv. 4, 12, but it is really *to be amazed*.

xvii. 18. By *ξένων δαιμονίων καταγγελεύς*, *proclaimer of foreign divinities*, the adversaries of Paul impute to him the introduction of some new worship from the East; they compare the worship of the risen Jesus with the various cults of deified men such as Bacchus, Hercules, or Osiris, which had established themselves in the Greek and Roman world.

xvii. 21. *ἡὐκαίρουν* does not mean *spent their time*, but *had leisure*, as in Mark vi. 31; 1 Cor. xvi. 12. The word intimates with a touch of scorn that a busy curiosity was the prevalent feature of an Athenian holiday, *ἡμέρα εὐκαιρος* being a public holiday (Mark vi. 21).

xvii. 22. Our versions translate *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*, *superstitious*; but this is quite out of harmony with the tone of the speaker, who is anxious to find ground of sympathy with his hearers, and selects the altar to an

unknown God as evidence of a religious instinct, groping in the dark after a God, whom they knew not as yet, and whose true nature he proceeds to unfold for their better understanding.

xvii. 23. Our versions translate εὐσεβεῖτε *worship*; but it really means *show piety*, and is used accordingly of piety towards a man's own family in 1 Tim. v. 4. Greek poets spoke of piety towards the gods, but we can hardly conceive a Christian Apostle finding the word consistent with reverence for the true God, and using the term ὃν εὐσεβεῖτε in relation to Him. But when ὃν is changed into ὁ ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, it is still more strange to find the Revised Version connecting ὁ with εὐσεβεῖτε, and making the object of worship a thing, "*what ye worship*": for even false worship, except the most degraded, was addressed to persons, not to things. Obviously ὁ is governed by ἀγνοοῦντες, and the meaning is *what ye are ignorant of in your piety, this I announce to you*. The subsequent context shows what this was which Paul had to announce to them, viz. the Divine nature (τὸ θεῖον), on which, and on man's ignorance of it, he proceeds to dwell.

xvii. 25. θεραπεύεται describes the personal attendance rendered by ministers of heathen temples to the statues of their gods: such as dressing and washing, conveyance on litters in public processions, and establishment on couches as guests at public dinners.

xvii. 26. When the text is corrected by the omission of αἵματος, as in the Revised Version, ἐξ ἑνός must be taken to mean *of one father*, as it does in Heb. ii. 11. In English the word *father* must be added to express the force of the proposition ἐξ, *out of one*, which is sufficient alone in Greek.

xviii. 5. λόγῳ, not πνεύματι, is undoubtedly the true text; but there is much obscurity in the Revised Version, "*Paul was constrained by the word.*" συνέχσθαι signifies a bond-

age, either literal like that of sickness or imprisonment, or moral such as bondage to an engrossing interest of the mind or occupation of the time. *συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ* describes Paul as wholly absorbed in the preaching of the Word. This entire occupation in the gospel ensued on the arrival of Silas and Timothy, and is contrasted with his previous habit of devoting his week-days mainly to the work of tentmaking, and employing the Sabbath only in the work of the gospel. But no explanation is given here of this change of habits; we have to seek it in his Epistles, and it affords an interesting example of undesigned coincidence between the life and letters. In xvii. 14-16 we learn with surprise that Silas and Timothy awaited a summons before starting to rejoin Paul at Athens; but it is still more surprising that after the urgent summons sent immediately on his arrival there, he waited in vain, first at Athens, and then for some weeks at Corinth. This is explained by 1 Thess. iii. 1-6: he had himself given them a commission to visit afresh the Macedonian Churches which he had been compelled to leave with such haste. This commission must have been given before he left Berea, for it occasioned his being left alone on his arrival at Athens; and it was apparently the reason why they tarried behind at Berea. The only Church directly mentioned as visited by them on this occasion is Thessalonica. But it may be inferred that they visited Philippi also; and the reference in Phil. ii. 22 to Timothy's special services to the gospel there confirms the inference. Again, the Philippians sent Paul money after, as well as before, his departure from Macedonia, for his personal needs (Phil. iv. 15); and he states that he had spent the money brought to him by the brethren, when they came from Macedonia, in ministering to the Church of Corinth (2 Cor. xi. 8, 9). It appears then that Silas and Timothy were the bearers of this contribution from Philippi, and that he was thus

relieved from the necessity of labouring with his own hands for daily bread, and enabled to devote himself exclusively to the gospel.

xviii. 12. Our versions say "*rose up against Paul*" and "*made insurrection against*": but *κατά* cannot mean *against*, or it would be followed by a genitive case; and *ἐπέστησαν* does not imply a popular rising, but that they beset Paul, perhaps laying hands upon him for his arrest: *κατά* signifies that their ill will came to a head in this definite and decided onset upon him.

xviii. 27. Though Christians are often described as *the disciples* in the Acts, the Christians of Ephesus would hardly be described as the brethren and those of Corinth as the disciples, had it not been intended to intimate a relation of teacher and disciple as subsisting between them. And this corresponds to what we learn of Priscilla and Aquila that they had been the earliest companions of St. Paul at Corinth, and were now at Ephesus, where they had been specially instrumental in the conversion of Apollos. They were doubtless forward in writing to *their disciples* at Corinth on his behalf. The middle voice *προτρεψάμενοι* indicates that the writers were specially interested in the Church of Corinth, if not actually members of it.

Our versions join *διὰ τῆς χάριτος* to *πεπιστευκόσιν*, and speak of those that *had believed through grace*: but this ignores the article, and makes it an unmeaning addition; for how could any believe, except through grace? The words ought to be joined to *συνεβάλετο*: he contributed much to the support of the Church in Corinth *by the grace given him*; for being mighty in the Scriptures, he employed his power on behalf of Christ.

xix. 1. The word *upper* scarcely conveys the force of *ἀνωτερικά* as distinguishing the *inland* region of Galatia and Phrygia which Paul had been visiting (xviii. 23), from the position of Ephesus on the coast.



xix. 2. The correct rendering of the tenses in the Revised Version shows that the question put to these converts about receiving the Holy Ghost, and their answer, refer to the time of their conversion. But the word "*given*" is neither expressed nor implied in Greek.

xix. 4. Our versions translate "*saying unto the people, that they should believe*": *should believe* here means *ought to believe*; but it is impossible to give this meaning to ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, which really depends on ἐβάπτισεν, while τ. λαῶ λέγων is a parenthesis belonging entirely to τὸν ἐρχόμενον, from which it ought not to be detached. John spoke much to the people of Him that was coming after, and of repentance as a preparation, but not of faith. The connexion is as follows: *John baptized with the baptism of repentance, that they might believe on Him that was coming after him, as he said to the people, that is, on Jesus.*

xix. 9. ἀποστάς denotes, not *departure*, but a complete withdrawal from communion, social or religious: he made the school of Tyrannus his daily resort instead of the Jewish synagogue.

xix. 15. The language of our versions, "*Paul I know*," implies personal knowledge; but ἐπίσταμαι signifies a mental process by which we arrive at the understanding of facts or language. Therefore τ. Παῦλον ἐπίστ. does not assert a knowledge of the Apostle, but an understanding of their language, and of their reason for using the name of Paul as they had done. And this accounts for the insertion of the article: "*this Paul, that you speak of, I understand.*"

xix. 18. Our versions use language which implies that many of the Christian converts had practised magic arts in secret, and were now for the first time terrified into confession by the fate of the exorcists. The Greek text does not warrant this strange and unworthy picture of the Ephesian Church. For the word ἀναγγέλλοντες signifies

either report of a fact, or announcement of a doctrine, not the confession of a secret sin; and ἐξομολογείσθαι, when used absolutely without τ. ἁμαρτίας, signifies confession of faith or outspoken thanks to God. The statement therefore is not that they *came confessing and declaring their own deeds*, but that they went giving praise and reporting how these exorcists had fared. The effect of their report on those that practised magic arts is given in the next verse; but there is nothing to identify them with the Ephesian Christians.

xix. 20. Our versions say, "*So mightily grew the word of the Lord.*" But the order of the Greek text, κατὰ κράτος τ. κυρίου ὁ λόγος, compels us to join τ. κυρίου with κατὰ κράτος. And this gives a more distinct meaning to the verse by its pointed reference to the might of Jesus as exemplified in the affair of the exorcists. The connexion is as follows: "*Thus by might of the Lord grew the word.*"

xix. 24. Our versions say *Demetrius brought no small gain* (R.V. *no little business*). But παρείχετο ἐργασίαν means that Demetrius, who was himself a master silversmith, gave a good deal of employment to the silversmiths in the manufacture of silver shrines. The meaning is the same as παρείχεν ἐργασίαν in xvi. 16; but as Demetrius was himself engaged in the trade and shared the profits, the middle voice is here used. τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας are not exactly *workmen of like occupation*, but the workmen *who have to do with that sort of work*, i.e. the subordinate trades of metalwork and carpentering connected with the business, whose welfare (εὐπορία) depended on it.

xix. 29. More is implied in συναρπάσαντες than is expressed in our versions, which state that they *caught* or *seized* Gaius and Aristarchus. They hurried them off violently with them to the theatre, as Stephen had been hurried off to trial (Acts vi. 12); the same term is applied

to the tempestuous wind which drove Paul's ship out to sea off the coast of Crete (xxvii. 15).

xix. 33. The margin of the Revised Version gives the only possible rendering for *συνεβίβασαν*, when it refers to a single person, as it does here. It is frequently used in the LXX in the same sense of *instructing*. It appears that some of the multitude who belonged to the Jewish faction instructed Alexander, the Jews putting him forward as their representative, to exculpate them from the charge of disparaging their goddess.

xix. 40. Our versions say "*there being no cause*," as if the Greek were *μηδεμιᾶς αἰτίας*. *μηδενός* must be masculine, referring to a person. The clause "*there being no one to blame*," repeats the argument used already in v. 37, that there had been no one guilty of temple robbery or of blasphemy, whose conduct might be pleaded to the Roman governor of the province as an excuse for the popular excitement; therefore the city was in danger to be accused of riot for the day's assembly, which was altogether illegal.

F. RENDALL.

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## THE BOOK OF JOB :

WITH REFERENCE TO CHAP. XIX. 23-27.<sup>1</sup>

LET me explain what is meant by the above title, and what is attempted in the following pages.

It is not anything so unlimited as a paper on the Book of Job in general, neither is it anything so limited as simply an exegesis of the passage referred to by itself. It may rather be said to be the former restricted by having the latter as its aim. All who have studied this passage and the conflicting opinions of its interpreters must have felt how closely one's interpretation of it is bound up with, and influenced by, one's idea of the Book of Job as a whole.

It is in view of this fact that I have sought to bring together some of the leading ideas running through the book, and to show their connection with this special passage, so as to see how it fits in, and how it stands related to the general plan in which it is embodied. Thus one may not unreasonably hope to get important help to the understanding of what, exactly, it is intended to mean.

The passage belongs to that part of the book which contains the Controversy between Job and his Friends; and it is in this connection that it must first be regarded.

Rightly to understand and appreciate this controversy we must think ourselves back through the centuries that have intervened between Job's day and ours, and place ourselves, as far as possible, in the position in which he stood. For we must remember that, while the problem of this "most splendid creation of the Hebrew poetry" is a problem of world-wide and world-lasting interest, yet the

<sup>1</sup> I am authorized to say, that this paper has the approval and general concurrence of Professor A. B. Davidson.—Ed. *Expositor*.



discussion of it in this particular book is, necessarily, a discussion from the standpoint of the age which gave it birth, and that that is a standpoint considerably different from ours. In the Book of Job we see a drama based upon certain current beliefs of the age, and a splendid struggle to make these beliefs consist with the facts of life; and, when this is seen to be vain, a still more splendid struggle to get free from these beliefs, in the freedom not of scepticism but of higher truth. Obviously, then, it is of importance for an intelligent study of the book that we should set out with a clear perception of those general principles of belief on which it is founded.

I think the enumeration of three such beliefs will suffice to put us in a position in which we may intelligently follow the discussion between Job and his Friends, and understand the significance and value of the passage specially before us.

There was, first, the belief that God is the great cause at work everywhere; that everything must be traced to Him; that all the phenomena of the world, all the events of life, are but a manifestation of Him. In the words of Professor Davidson, "The philosophy of the wise did not go beyond the origin of sin, or referred it to the freedom of man; but, sin existing, and God being in immediate personal contact with the world, every event was a direct expression of His moral will and energy." This was the first position in the minds of the men of Job's day. To them prosperity and adversity came, not through what we might vaguely call the force of circumstances, but from the hand of God. The afflicted were afflicted of God: it was His hand that lay heavy upon them.

Next, there was the belief that God is just, and that His dealings with men are the outcome of His justice. One phase of this belief, as then held, was that suffering is sent by God because of sin; that it is the direct consequence

of sin and is proportional to it, so that special suffering must be accounted for by special sinfulness.

In the Book of Job this is the centre of the position occupied by the Friends. This belief they have lived in all their days. It has descended to them from the generations of their fathers, and the proverbs in which it is embodied have become part of themselves. And it has a stronger hold upon them than is got merely from the imprimatur of past ages. It is, so far, confirmed by their own conscience; they feel that there is a real and close connection between sin and suffering. This conviction is part of their nature as men, and is and has been part of human nature in all ages. We see it in our own feeling that, however easily, in the light of the truths revealed by Jesus Christ, we may accept the sufferings of good men in this life, yet it would be impossible so to accept them if we knew that they would not at some future time cease and give place to happiness. All this follows from the belief in a just God;—and, of course, it followed in the case of Job as well as his Friends. He too had the same belief; for therein lies the point of the whole book. It is the fact that the Friends are only driving home to him a dogma whose force he feels but too well in his own soul that gives the sting to what they say. Otherwise their speeches would affect him little. He might be grieved at their unsympathetic tone, and vexed that they were led to form a false opinion of his character from his sufferings. But what is that compared with the thought that their dogma not only leads them to this position, but has truth in it, and that, after all, his trials come from God and tell of His anger? It is the strength to overcome this very conviction that gives interest to the story. If Job could have flung the doctrine of the Friends aside as a mere superstition of bygone ages, then it would have lost its power to harass him. But he could not. In his own soul he felt something that responded to it; and this re-

sponse within himself, weightier far than any dogma or opinion of the multitude, pointed to something stronger than mere superstition in it.

There is, then, the conviction, common to Job, his Friends, and us, that God is just, and that, because God is just, the sufferings of the righteous—if the righteous have sufferings at all—must at some time cease and give place to happiness in the manifestation of His favour.

But, third, there is the further position with which it is beyond reasonable doubt that Job and his Friends set out, that the feelings of God towards a man must be made manifest during this life, so that ere death the favour of God must shine out over the righteous man, however tossed about by the waves of misfortune he may have been for a time. To them the state of existence beyond the grave brought no thought of retribution, as a state in which to the righteous the calamities of a life-time would seem as nothing in the everlasting favour of God, while the short-lived pleasures and seeming good fortune of the wicked would be swallowed up in the misery of an existence apart from Him whose lovingkindness is better than life.

These three positions,—(1) That adversity and prosperity, as all things else, come from God; (2) That God is just, and, as just, sends prosperity to the righteous and adversity to the wicked; and, (3) That His relations to men come out in this present life;—these positions, applied to the particular case of Job, are the basis of the controversy between him and his friends.

The problem is, either, how to make these fundamental positions consist rationally with the facts of the case,—the undoubted fact of Job's calamities, and the seeming fact of his uprightness; or, to decide which of the positions can be abandoned or modified so as to arrive at something like a satisfactory explanation of the facts.

It is evident at a glance that the former of the alter-

natives is hopeless; to hold all the positions, the dogmas and the facts together, is impossible. Some one must be given up; and the question for each of the parties engaged is which he will abandon or modify.

The Friends choose the course which, at first sight at least, presents least difficulty. They question the fact of Job's integrity. Their position is, broadly, that Job's sufferings have been inflicted because of sinfulness. In this way they find what is *to them* a sufficient explanation so far as this particular case is concerned; and no other explanation do they offer. In the skilful hands of the author of the Book of Job, indeed, their position is presented in not unvarying form, and is supported by very much that, however false or irrelevant when applied to the case of Job, is, in itself, beautiful and noble and true; but still throughout it remains essentially the same.

I have already said that, to begin with, Job held the same creed as his Friends; one can scarcely doubt that, had he been in their position, their arguments would have been his. But it is just from the fact that he is not in their position that the discussion arises. To them the idea of hypocrisy on his part presents at least no impossibility, and thus offers a conceivable, and a more or less satisfactory, explanation. But it is not so with him. Conscious he may be of his sinfulness as a fallen man; but no less conscious is he of his innocence of any special sinfulness that may account for his unparalleled sufferings. For him to accept the solution of his Friends is a pure impossibility. His uprightness is as much beyond doubt as his misfortune. Yet the combination of these two is utterly inconsistent with the holding of the three primary positions of his creed. Some one must give way. A new element has been forced into his beliefs; a new factor has come into his life; and, to make room for it, the old fabric must be made to yield on one side or other. And the spectacle presented to us



in the speeches of Job is that of this afflicted saint wandering backwards and forwards between the different sides of his creed, frantically at first, more calmly afterwards, in a desperate struggle to expand it in some direction; at one time dashing himself, madly and fruitlessly, against a position which is immutably firm; at another showing, by splendid effort and far-seeing faith, that some other position, formerly deemed impregnable, might be made to yield, if only he knew how.

I have said that there is forced upon Job the conviction that, to make room for the new fact of his calamity, some one of his old beliefs must give way. But the choice which he has is small. Part of the old creed is, to him, as firm and unyielding as the new element itself. It cannot give way; and the only alternative left him is, either, to despair altogether of finding a solution; to give up hope of making things fit into each other,—at least to give up the attempt to make them fit in so; or, to abandon one or other of these two positions: (1) That God is just; and (2) That His relations to a man—relations of favour or the opposite—must inevitably appear in this present life.

Happily it was no easier for Job than it is for us to give way to despair till every means of escape has been tried. With wonderful skill and power is depicted the majestic struggling to regain a sure footing on some firmer foundation than the old one that has been so rudely shaken.

Job has, first of all, recourse to what is perhaps the most natural, and seemingly the simplest, plan to one who, in the first shock of overwhelming misfortune, loses for the time being all self-control. He questions—he denies—the justice of God. With something of the recklessness of despair he accuses God of merciless injustice.

“It is all one; therefore I say,  
He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked.

If the scourge slay suddenly,  
He will mock at the trial of the innocent.  
The earth is given into the hand of the wicked." (x. 22-24, R.V.)

As for Job himself, his former prosperity was but a cruel blind; it is scarcely too much to characterize it from his language as a horrible—nay, almost fiendish—plot to make his succeeding calamities all the more terrible. This was the very purpose for which God had made him. All his life long God had been dogging his steps, eagerly watching for sin that He might overwhelm him with punishment, even when He seemed to be favouring him most of all. "Thou hast granted me life and favour," he exclaims: "and Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit. Yet these things Thou didst hide in Thine heart: I know that this is with Thee" (x. 12, 13). And then he sinks down in hopeless despair, and wishes he had never been born; wishes he were in the grave, which, although it be "a land of darkness and the shadow of death," yet promises relief in that state where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest";—ay, where God would cease from troubling, and where, at any rate, he would be no worse off than the wicked.

But, although such reasoning (if reasoning it can be called) and such language may serve to give relief to his feelings while in the first frenzy of despair, they cannot afford any permanent comfort. Belief in the justice of God is too deeply rooted in Job's heart to be torn up even by his present calamities; and, although for a time his eye may be bewildered so that the old belief seems to him to totter, still that can be only for a time. His other and better nature must assert itself when, after the first frenzy, his perturbed heart begins to grow a little calmer, and to look the problem more clearly in the face. No: he can not rest in a denial of God's justice; that is not, after all, a satisfactory explanation.

But more and more strongly is the conviction forced upon Job that, if God be just—as just He must be—He cannot be the God of the old theology,—the God, that is, who is supposed to mete out to men in this life according to their deserts, and whose relations to men cease with this life. In the light of his own sufferings and the sufferings of others such a God cannot but stand convicted of injustice. And so he begins gradually to drift away from the old conceptions; he feels that, in view of the facts of life, the conception of God which they imply is really that of an unjust and capricious tyrant. But he also feels that if that is the God whom they present it is not the God of the universe—the old God of his former happy life—the God. He must be just; and to Him, almost as if He were quite a different God from the God who has his life in hand now, he passionately appeals.

But still, even although he can retain his faith in a God who must be just, the difficulty remains; in fact the stronger his faith in the Divine justice the greater must be his perplexity as he considers the Divine dealings. It is bad enough that in his present misfortunes he can see nothing that does not tell him of God's displeasure. But that is only a small part of his trial. Besides the actual present suffering—that is, the actual present manifestation of God's displeasure—there is the conviction that it is never to be removed. For, properly to understand his problem, we must bear in mind that Job has no hope of restoration to health; that, all through, he regards himself as struck down by a disease which is incurable and can end only with death. When with this we combine the belief with which he starts, that this life ends all, at least in so far as God's relations to men are concerned, we have the factors which gave to his agonizings the almost superhuman energy of despair.

Had Job been able to cherish a hope of restoration to

health and prosperity in this life, he might have reasoned thus: "My present sufferings are indeed inexplicable. But God is just, and He must have a reason for them. There is, doubtless, some end worthy of Himself which He means to accomplish by them, and when that end has been attained then He will remove the suffering, and show Himself once more a gracious and loving God." But by the fact of his hopelessness of restoration here, such reasoning and such a solution of his problem are made impossible; and he feels bitterly how inexplicable it is. The fact of God's use of suffering for some gracious and God-worthy purpose is, in a sense, rational enough, and can easily be accepted; but not if the trial is to have no end: not if the faith which has successfully endured it is at no time to be acknowledged by God and made glad with new tokens of His favour. As a means, Job, or any one else, might accept it; not as an end.

Thus, then, by the conviction that he cannot recover from his illness, Job is shut out from the possibility of having recourse to any such explanation as that just indicated. But what can he do? If he cannot make room for the new element by altering his views as to the justice of God, or by falling back upon some possible, though unknown, explanation of his sufferings in reference to some gracious end which God contemplates in them, he must look in some other direction for a means of expanding his creed. And now there seems but one other way left. The only belief which remains untried is, that God's relations to men must appear in this life. Can this be modified? Can his beliefs expand in this direction so as to leave room for the element of his suffering? It seems all too daring. Such a thing has scarce been thought of? Has not Sheol been in all ages but the dull shadowy life, or rather existence, where all are alike, in which God is not, and when all opportunity of being acknowledged by Him is



irrevocably gone? And yet the possibility is forced upon him. He sees it, but recoils from it as a baseless illusion—as, in fact, an impossibility. But it cannot be lightly thrown aside, for it is the only way left in which there seems the least chance of a solution of the difficulties which are pressing upon him. He tries to quiet the flutter which the very thought has raised in his heart by giving expression to his old belief:—

“Man dieth, and wasteth away :  
Yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?”

\* \* \* \* \*

“Man lieth down and riseth not :  
Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake,  
Nor be roused out of their sleep.” (xiv. 10, 12, R.V.)

But it is in vain that he asks, “If a man die, shall he live again?” The old words have lost their certainty. He begins to feel that he may live again if God is just. The idea becomes stronger and stronger, coming back to him more vividly after each repulse; till, at last, seeing how completely every other way of escape is shut up, he feels that it *must* be so, and bursts out into a confession of faith in God that pierces beyond the grave:—

“I know that my redeemer liveth,  
And that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth;  
And after my skin hath been thus destroyed,  
Yet from [without] my flesh shall I see God:  
Whom I shall see for myself,  
And mine eyes shall behold, and not another.  
My reins are consumed within me [with longing].”

(xix. 25-27, R.V.)

The belief that such is the meaning of these words,—the belief, that is, that they point to a time after death, to a state of existence beyond the grave which is infinitely more than men had been accustomed to suppose,—a state involving the idea of retribution. when the seeming wrongs

of this life will all be righted, and the righteous will be recognised as such by God, however much He may have seemed to try or to ignore them here;—this belief is not much affected by the fact which is urged in opposition, that Job's subsequent speeches show little sign of any such faith as we have attributed to him. That the gleam of faith is only for a moment does not prove that it has not been at all. When we think of the circumstances in which Job was placed, not only does it not seem strange that he should not have remained at the height to which he had risen, but we feel that it would have been strange if he had. The idea was new, and there was nothing to support it but the cogency of such facts as those whose power he was now experiencing, and which had, in truth, almost forced him to this position. It was contrary to the belief of God's people in all ages; and it is little wonder that, although forced to it for a moment, he should again turn from it as a means of escape only too good to be true, and should anew try to make some other of his old beliefs give way. Those who cannot believe in any such idea as that of the fitfulness of faith,—to whom faith is always on an ascending, or, at any rate, never on a descending, plane, must know either more of it, or less of it, than most men; and the author of the Book of Job, in allowing his hero to rise for a moment above the mists and shadows and clouds into the clear sunlight, *and to fall again*, only shows his knowledge of human nature.

It may serve, so far, to elucidate and simplify the subsequent and more detailed treatment of this passage if we glance, to begin with, at the immediate connection in which it occurs.

In the opening verses of the chapter (which, as a whole, consists of his answer to the speech of Bildad in chap. xviii.) Job expresses his unfeigned disgust at the heartless and insulting language of his friends:—

"How long will ye vex my soul,  
And break me in pieces with words?  
These ten times have ye reproached me."

Then, as if to show how useless all their talking has been, and how little effect all their arguments to prove that God is dealing justly with him have had, he defiantly hurls at them a point-blank denial of the Divine justice:—

If indeed ye will magnify yourselves against me,  
And plead against me my reproach:  
Know now that God hath subverted me in my cause,  
And hath compassed me with His net."

Then he gives a mournful narration of the effects of this unjust treatment by God, and turns for pity from the God who is thus wronging him to those who are still so far his friends as to stand by him when others have fled. "Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me." But, although he is thus forced by the anguish of his soul to give way so far as to appeal to them thus, he has long since learned by experience, and likely now once more reads the lesson in their faces, that no help is to be looked for there. His protestations of innocence have but served to estrange them still more; and so he turns wearily from them. It may be that he recalls Bildad's declaration (xviii. 17, 20), that the remembrance of the wicked perisheth from the land, that he hath no name, neither offspring nor descendant; and as he thinks of his relation to those who are yet to come, and of the fact that posterity has yet to judge his case, he directs his appeal to future ages. There is a gleam of hope in his breast as he cries:—

"Oh that my words were now written!  
Oh that they were inscribed in a book!  
That with an iron pen and lead  
They were graven in the rock for ever!"

Feeling that he is doomed to die, and knowing that he will not himself be present to proclaim his innocence to those who shall come after, he expresses a wish that his words should be recorded in a book; then, remembering the perishable nature of any such testimony, he, as it were, corrects himself, and wishes them to be cut deep into a rock, the letters to be filled in with lead.

For our present purpose it is unnecessary to defend the interpretation of *millay* ("my words") assumed above, as referring to Job's protestations of innocence, and not, as some have thought, to the declaration which immediately follows.

The manner in which the thought of the Divine justice, with what it implies, suddenly breaks in, as reflected in the abrupt—and on some interpretations unaccountable—*vav* ("but") with which verse 25 opens, and the whole train of thought which seems to be naturally suggested by the passage may best be shown by paraphrasing it thus:—"I must soon die, and shall not myself be able to proclaim my innocence to posterity. Therefore I would that my declaration should be handed down in writing—yea, in the writing of the rocks.—*But*—no: why should I worry myself about that? I will rest myself in the justice of God. He knows my innocence; and, although I die, He lives, and lives as my Redeemer. Yes, I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall yet vindicate me."

Thus, naturally and with striking antithetic force, does Job pass from the (implied) thought of his own death to that of the life,—or, rather, the undyingness—of the God whom he claims as his Redeemer,—his *Goel*.

The context and the general sense of the passage in which it occurs will, as a rule, sufficiently indicate whether the term *Goel* is best translated, in accordance with its original signification, as "redeemer," or, as in accordance with the secondary signification to which it easily passed,



"blood-avenger," or in its still further, though closely allied, signification of "near-kinsman." In the present instance the most natural translation seems to be "Redeemer," in the general sense of one who frees another from calamity. It is by no means impossible that it may be intended to include the further idea of "blood-avenger"; and some probability is given to this view by such a passage as chap. xvi. 18, where Job cries, "O earth, cover not thou my blood." Indeed, the whole of that passage (xvi. 18-21) is of much interest and not a little importance as throwing light upon the words used here. It runs thus:—

"O earth, cover not thou my blood,  
And let my cry have no resting place.  
Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven,  
And He that voucheth for me is on high.  
My friends scorn me:  
But mine eye poureth out tears unto God;  
That He would maintain the right of a man with God,  
And of a son of man with his neighbour!"

In it we see Job at one of the periods when the fluctuations of his mind have brought round to him the thought of the justice of God, so that it seems for the moment to be the thing he is most sure of. He feels that God cannot, as a just God, refuse to listen to the cry of his blood; that He cannot refuse to acknowledge his innocence; yea, that even now, although He may seem to be displeased with him, yet, if he could only pierce through those clouds of earth, he would see that very God who seems to be angry with him proclaiming his innocence in heaven. And, in the strength of this faith, he appeals from God as he and others see Him in his sufferings to God as he knows He is, the Witness of his innocence.

And now again (xix. 25) he recurs to the same idea, as if his thoughts had completed another revolution and brought him back to the old point; and once more the justice of

God is to him the fact which is beyond doubt. And so again in the strength of this faith, stronger even than before, and keener and more piercing in its glance, he cries: "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall yet see God, even though I should die before I see Him."

The following verse (26) contains the crux of the passage. It is in connection with it that controversy has been waged most keenly, and that the different modes of interpretation of this and kindred passages in the Book of Job may be most conveniently brought together and considered.

Interpreters may be divided into two great classes, according as they interpret the passage as referring to this present life or to a life beyond the grave. These two main classes are subdivided according to the interpretation put upon *mibb'sari*, which may legitimately be translated "from my flesh" in the sense of "out from,"—"looking out of,"—which, of course, is exactly equivalent to "*in my flesh*"; or, "from my flesh" in the sense of "away from" or "*without*." Adopting these principles of division we get the following classes of interpreters:—

A. Those who take the passage as referring to the present life; subdivided into—

(a) Those who translate *mibb'sari* "*in my flesh*."

(b) „ „ „ „ „ "*without my flesh*."

B. Those who take the passage as referring to a future life; also subdivided into—

(a') Those who translate *mibb'sari* "*in my flesh*."

(b') „ „ „ „ „ "*without my flesh*."

I shall look at these interpretations in detail and try to select that one which has most probability in its favour.

First, then, of those who refer it to this life, there are some who take *mibb'sari* to mean "*in my flesh*." Unfortunately we have not yet reached the acme of simplicity, as there is a possibility of a further distinction being made here; and, as a matter of course, that possibility has been

made an actuality. There are those, then, who interpret the passage as meaning that, although Job's skin should have been destroyed by disease, he will yet be restored to health, and out of new flesh and a sound body will see God; and there are others who, while referring it to the present life, regard it as meaning that, although Job's skin should be destroyed, yet his faith in the justice of God is so strong that he feels sure that he will yet see God, even though he should be a mere mass of flesh. I shall meanwhile leave the former of these views, and shall at this stage give what notice it merits to the latter of the two, and to the view (b) of those who make the passage mean that, although his disease should have reduced him to a skeleton, yet, even though it should be without flesh, he will yet see God.

The discussion of these interpretations need not detain us long. One question is sufficient to show the untenableness of either. What does Job mean by "*seeing God*"? The natural interpretation of this phrase, in its connection, implies that now he cannot see God. Formerly, in his prosperity, the candle of the Lord shined upon him; but now He is hid from him by his trials. These very trials speak to him of the withdrawal of God's favour; and what he now means by saying that he knows he will yet "see God" is that God will yet acknowledge him as innocent, and that, as the indispensable condition of that acknowledgment, he will yet see a return of God's favour. Now would this be possible in a condition in which he was either a skeleton or a mere mass of flesh? Such a condition would in itself speak to him of the absence of that very favour for which he longed and in which alone he could "see God."

Passing from these interpretations we have now to consider that of those who make the sentence refer to Job's expectation that God will yet appear as his *Goel*, and will acknowledge his innocence by restoring him to health and prosperity, so that he will yet see the tokens of God's

favour in a body restored to soundness. In reply to this it is almost enough to point out that such an interpretation is contrary to the whole spirit of the book,—at least to the whole spirit of Job's speeches. Again and again he has, implicitly and explicitly, stated that he has no hope of recovery. His friends have held out such a prospect to him, but he has flung it aside as mere mockery. As for him, his breath is corrupt, his days are extinct, and the grave is waiting for him. Such is his own conviction (xvii. 1, 2). His days are past, his purposes cut off (xvii. 11). The point of a large part of the book is just this, that he feels that he is struck down with an incurable disease, and that so, although innocent, he will die unacknowledged by God. It may be that this very thought is meant to be included in the use here of the term "*Goel*"—the avenger of blood—just as Job has already cried to the earth not to cover his blood, but to let it cry out for avenging. And the whole tone of his subsequent speeches is similar, and shows no hope.

The argument against this from the actual restoration of Job, as recorded at the close of the book, has absolutely no weight. It belongs to the author, and not to Job. It might perhaps also be asked with some force, why Job should have shown anxiety regarding the verdict of posterity, if he knew that, in what must needs be a comparatively short time, he would be restored, and so acknowledged by God before heaven and earth?

It has also been attempted to support this rendering, or, at least, to remove one of the difficulties which stand in its way, by making *niggphu* to be, in form, a Chaldaism for *niggphuth*, and translating it "a surrounding" or "covering" ("my skin, this covering"). Such a necessity does not add to the probability of the rendering.

Others, however, (*a*), of those who translate *mibb'sari* "out of"—in the sense of "*in*—my flesh," acknowledge



the force of the arguments in proof of Job's utter hopelessness in so far as restoration to health is concerned, and make *basar* here refer to his resurrection body.

If the former interpretation was alien to the spirit of the book, this one is as surely alien, not only to the spirit of the book, but to the whole spirit of the time to which the book belongs. It is practically certain that such an idea as that of a resurrection was unknown to the mind of Job. It was only by a momentary gleam of faith, such as we have here, that he could grasp the idea of any possible recognition by God in a life beyond the grave at all; and that, in such circumstances, he should express a conviction that he would then be clothed upon with a new body would surely be strikingly unnatural. Besides, even if such an hypothesis had any degree of probability, is it likely that Job would have spoken of this new body simply as *b'sari*—"my flesh"?

There remains the last class of interpreters (*b'*), those who, regarding the passage as referring to another life, translate *mibb'sari* "without my flesh. The arguments in favour of this rendering are various; the statement of them, unfortunately, involves more or less of going back upon what has already been said.—In the first place, this interpretation is perfectly tenable grammatically. Simply as an interpretation of the passage taken by itself, apart altogether from the question as to whether it is tenable on other and wider grounds, it is at least as little open to objection as any of the other renderings. But on these more general grounds its superiority to the alternatives already discussed is, I think, apparent. If we regard it, to begin with, in reference to its immediate surroundings, we find that it accords well with them, so that by means of it, as has been seen, an easy and natural translation and interpretation can be given to the passage as a whole.

But the question of interpretation is, in a sense, still more

closely connected with the relation which the passage bears to the book as a whole, regarded as the product of a bygone age; and on this side also this last rendering has a manifest advantage over the others. This point has already been dwelt upon at considerable length, and I can refer to it here only at the risk of repetition.

As I have already tried to show, the conviction to which, on this theory, Job is represented as giving expression, is just such as we might suppose would be forced upon him by the facts of the case. At those periods when he felt for the moment the certainty of the justice of God along with the certainty that his days were numbered and that he would die by his disease, the only conceivable solution left was that there should be the possibility of something more after death than men had been wont to believe. And this view is supported by the fact that this is not the only occasion on which we see such a gleam of faith. In chap. xiv. (verses 13-15), we find this same thought of a possible future life in God's favour, flash before the mind of Job,—not, indeed, as a well-defined or firmly grasped belief,—not, indeed, we may say, as a belief at all, but as a longing, a “craving of the heart” only too good to be believed, but which, if he could believe it, would give him strength and patience to wait “all the days of his warfare.”

Again in chap. xvi. (vers. 18-21), we find the idea recurring a second time, when Job, thinking of his approaching death, thinks also of his blood as calling to God for avenging, and of God as listening to it and witnessing to his innocence. But still it is little more than an idea, a thought, an imagination, suggested by the circumstances of his trial and quickly pushed aside again. And now (xix. 25-27) for a moment Job's faith in God shines out, brighter than before. The thought of a future life and a future recognition by God is presented, no longer as a mere imaginary supposition which, if it were real, would give strength

and peace; nor merely as a possible solution of the riddle of Job's life, and of life in general; but as a certainty, founded on and standing with the certainty of the Divine justice. It is clouded over again; but only naturally. The very greatness of the hope is, if we may so say, its weakness; for it is so great that Job cannot live up to it, but reaches it only at moments when his fitful faith lifts him higher than usual. True, also, it is widely different in the solution which it suggests from the epilogue, which, with a certain (but only a certain) amount of truth, is so often pointed to as solving the problem of the suffering of the righteous in quite another way. But, as already stated, the fact of this variance is really no argument against our interpretation. If only we remember what the plan of the book as a whole is, we shall at once see that it was absolutely necessary that any solution reached—struggled to—by Job should be different from that given by the author. For, at the very outset, the author shows us in his hand a key to the problem, which not only is not in the possession of Job, but is beyond his reach. In the prologue he takes us, for the moment, behind the scenes, and tells us, in so many words, that Job's trials were sent to prove his faith,—to prove that his uprightness was not mere selfishness. But Job does not know this; else his suffering would not have been to him the problem that it was, and so would not have fulfilled its purpose. His calamity comes upon him just as it would upon one on whom it has been inflicted as a punishment for sin. It speaks to him, not of any goodness on God's part as seeking to strengthen and stablsh his faith, or as honouring, by using, him in the conflict with evil; but simply of the withdrawal of God's favour for some reason utterly beyond his comprehension, or, as seems to him, from mere caprice. This is the very trial which his faith has to overcome; and, although he is at times almost overwhelmed, yet he never altogether loses his faith in God.

He may sometimes use language which is unwarranted and sinful as questioning the justice of God in thus dealing with him; but under it all we see his earnest longing to get access to God's presence, assured that He is just in spite of all appearances. Nay, the undercurrent of faith in the justice of God is so strong that it raises him to paradoxical heights, so that we hear him appealing from God to God. And here is just another of the heights to which the struggling of his faith carries him. Although he feels sure that his disease carries death with it, yet he knows as surely that God is just, and that as just, He must acknowledge him as innocent some time, even although such a conclusion should force him to the unheard-of conviction that He will reveal Himself to him in a life beyond the grave. The plan of the book demands that thus Job should be left to struggle for himself towards a solution of his problem quite apart from any offered by the book as a whole,—that is, by the author; and that, after such a splendid exhibition of faith, Job should be restored to prosperity is, *in the light of the book as a whole, though not necessarily in the light of Job's speeches*, not only not unnatural, but eminently natural.

There is not then, so far as I can see, any reason for refusing to accept an interpretation of this passage which regards it as referring to a future life. It has already been pointed out that to read a still further meaning into the words, so as to include the idea of a resurrection, by interpreting *mibb'sari* as "in my resurrection—body," is unwarranted.

But we must beware of erring on the other side. Whilst *mibb'sari* almost certainly means "without my flesh" in the sense of "when I am dead," it is by no means necessary to regard it as meant to describe Job's actual condition *after death*, as if it implied that the state in which he would be then would be a bodiless or purely spiritual one. That



question, we may feel pretty sure, was not before his mind at all; and to interpret the passage in such a way as to make Job express an opinion regarding it is to take his words out of the sphere to which alone they refer and interpret them as true of another and totally different sphere. This distinction is well expressed by Professor Davidson, thus:—"The words do not express *in* what condition precisely but *after* what events Job shall see God."

"*I shall see God.*" This is the central thought of the passage, around which the others cluster as accessories; it is the essential element of Job's hope. Other things may be indefinite—the how, the when, the where; but about the fact itself, the seeing of God, there is no indefiniteness and no uncertainty. Resting on the Divine justice, it must come true whatever happen. If, as now seems to be certain, it cannot be before Job's death, well, then, it must be after; but be it must. What is implied in this seeing of God has already been explained. Generally, it may be considered simply as the re-enjoyment of God's favour, at present lost; more specially, it is that regarded, perhaps not so much in itself, as in the witness which it will bear to Job's innocence and uprightness. With desire or longing for this his "reins pine away within him." So vivid is his realization of this vision of God as once more reconciled to him, and so intense is his longing for it, that at the thought he faints with very desire.

In all that I have yet said I have regarded this passage as one of those in which we see the religious feelings of godly men, pressed by the facts of life, rebelling against, and, by a splendid effort, rising above the then common belief regarding the future life. We might say that it marks one of those crises at which we see religion awaking to the realization of what itself implies, as that which brings men into relation to *the living God*. Then religion had to struggle to such a belief in its own strength; now it has but

to lay hold of Him who is the resurrection and the life, and who, by the revelation of fact and teaching, has brought life and immortality to light.

But, while this doctrine of the future life is what is most prominent and most directly taught in this passage, we cannot but see that it has also an important bearing on the doctrine of the present life. In fact, its teaching regarding the future is based upon the supposition that God's relations to man during his earthly life need not necessarily be such as men had formerly supposed. It was just because Job had the conviction driven in upon him with resistless force that, contrary to his former belief, God does not always manifest His true relations to men in this life, that he was forced to find a place for this manifestation in a life to come.

In the early part of this paper I tried to make clear the place which this important passage holds in relation to the controversy between Job and his Friends. It may give greater value—it will, at any rate, give greater completeness—to my survey if, in a few closing sentences, I point out its place in relation to the Book of Job as a whole, and to the problem of that book. This I shall do by summing up what I believe to be the actual contribution to that problem—the problem of the sufferings of the righteous,—which we have in this sublime “master-piece of Semitic genius.”

In the Book of Job there are discernible, I think, three distinct lines of advance on the old idea of suffering as retribution in time,—on the old theory of temporal rewards and punishments,—the theory that in this life prosperity and adversity are awarded by God according to merit, and are to be regarded as expressing His feelings of favour or the opposite.

(1) There is the distinction, hinted at by Eliphaz, and more clearly expressed and emphasized in the speeches of

Elihu,<sup>1</sup> between disciplinary chastisement and judicial retribution. Now this is an actual contribution to the philosophy of suffering, although it was not the solution in the case of Job. It still, indeed, leaves a link of connection between sin and suffering in the individual, and so is not the highest stage attained in the book; but, as an advance upon the former theory, and as bearing upon the actual problems of life which surround us, it is by no means to be despised.

(2) There is the contribution—the splendid contribution—of Job himself, in the thought expressed in this and other passages, that beyond death there may be life fuller and truer than had been dreamt of,—a life in which man's Godward relations will be intensified, and not attenuated or even cut off. This may not exactly be of the nature of a solution of the problem of suffering; but its bearing upon it is obvious. The sufferings of the righteous made Job feel that "if man be mortal, no true idea of the Divine righteousness is possible," and drove him to the conviction that there must be an after-life;<sup>2</sup> a conviction which, if not itself a solution of the problem, at least serves the important purpose of removing a difficulty which, unremoved, would make any solution impossible.

(3) There is the contribution of the author himself, given chiefly in the prologue. If the contribution of Job does not, this one certainly does go straight to the heart of the problem. It removes the idea of necessary connection, not indeed between sin and suffering altogether, but between sin *in the sufferer* and suffering. The individual is regarded not so much in relation to himself merely as in relation to the whole of which he is a part. One aspect of this is put

<sup>1</sup> It does not fall within the scope of this paper to discuss the question of the genuineness of these speeches.

<sup>2</sup> It will, of course, be understood that, in this and similar passages, "*life*" is used to express something more, something richer, than mere *existence*. Future existence was not denied.

strikingly by Professor Delitzsch thus: "Job's affliction, expressed in New Testament language, falls under the point of view of the cross (*σταυρός*), which has its ground not so much in the sinfulness of the sufferer, as in the share which is assigned to him in the conflict of good with evil that exists in the world."

W. B. HUTTON.

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## *THE AUTHENTIC PICTURES OF ST. LUKE.*

THE popular story that the Evangelist St. Luke was a painter is traceable to no higher authority than the Byzantine historian Nicephorus. We do not know whence he derived it—possibly only from local legends such as are common in southern Europe to this day, ascribing to St. Luke one or more ancient pictures that had from some cause come to be accounted specially sacred. But it may be worth asking whether the story may not rest on a somewhat better foundation—whether it be not a reproduction, only too literal, of something originally spoken in an ideal sense, which in that ideal sense was perfectly true. Even the local legends and superstitions must have had some origin; it is hardly likely to be an accident that St. Luke was selected, rather than any other saint of the first age, as the patron of Christian art.

For he was the founder of Christian art in a very real sense; though he himself drew with the pen only, not with the pencil,<sup>1</sup> it is from him above all others that Christian painters have derived their inspiration. He is, in the strict and literal sense of the word, the most picturesque of the New Testament writers: not only the greatest artist among them, but the one whose art deals most with figures, groups, or scenes that admit of pictorial reproduction.

Thus we find that, of the favourite subjects of Christian art, the majority are derived from his writings, wholly or in part. Though we have one authentic Gospel of the Infancy besides his, it is really to him that we owe the portrait of the mother of Jesus: St. Matthew would not

<sup>1</sup> "Who with pen and pencil true,  
Christ's own awful Mother drew."

—KEBLE: *Lyra Innocentium*.

have enabled us to individualise "the Handmaid of the Lord," who "kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart." It is St. Luke, too, who gives us the first sketch of the *Mater Dolorosa*, though the lifelike picture comes from St. John, who saw her.

Besides this single figure, the central one in the earliest portion of the Gospel, it is to St. Luke that we owe the scenes of the Annunciation, the Salutation, the Nativity of the Baptist, the Nativity of the Saviour and Adoration of the Shepherds, the Presentation in the Temple, and the (unhappily miscalled and misconceived) Dispute with the Doctors; besides the equally beautiful though less often treated subjects of the Appearance of the Angel to Zacharias and to the Shepherds. St. Matthew adds only three pictures to these six or eight—the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, and the Massacre of the Innocents.

As we proceed further in the Gospel history, most of the subjects are common to St. Luke with one or more of his colleagues; *e.g.* the Baptism, the Temptation, the Feeding of the Multitude, the Transfiguration. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes is hardly to be counted as one of the popular subjects; but it is noticeable that when Raphael wanted to paint the life of St. Peter, it was to St. Luke not to St. Mark that he had to go, even for the period covered by both.

It is indeed somewhat singular, that so few subjects for pictures are taken from the central part of our Lord's life. St. John contributes the Marriage at Cana, and the Woman of Samaria; St. Luke, the Supper in the house of Simon the Pharisee, with the supposed Magdalene; the Woman taken in Adultery is virtually anonymous, but is ascribed to one or other of these.<sup>1</sup> But, while few of our Lord's

<sup>1</sup> I may mention that in Cod. Ev. 624, at Grotta Ferrata, one of the South Italian group of MSS. which place this *Pericope* after St. Luke xxi., a lection is

acts during the three years' ministry have become frequent subjects for painting, some have been supplied by His words. And those parables which have human interest enough to invite the artist are just those which are reported only by St. Luke—the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, perhaps Dives and Lazarus. Above all, the very earliest figure of Christian art, the Shepherd with the Lost Sheep on His shoulders, is due to St. Luke,<sup>1</sup> though its popular title of the Good Shepherd is derived from St. John.

As we approach the period of the Passion, the Raising of Lazarus is St. John's exclusively; the Entry into Jerusalem is common to all the Evangelists, but St. Luke adds the characteristic scene of the Lord weeping over the city. St. Matthew, on the other hand, gives other details—the presence of the she-ass, which few painters are conscientious enough to reproduce, and the figures of the children, in particular, as joining in the shouts of praise. The incident of the Tribute Money, again, is common to three Gospels, almost without variation. But as the details of the Last Supper are due to St. John, though the fact is mentioned by all, so we may say those of the Agony are due to St. Luke—or at least to what is ascribed to him; it is the obelized verses in his Gospel that add the figure of the strengthening angel to that of the praying Sufferer. The Betrayal gets details from each of the Gospels—perhaps fewest from St. Luke; but he contributes the most touching feature to the Denial of St. Peter. He omits, or gives a different version of, the Crowning with Thorns, and has only a hint of the Flagellation. The *Ecce Homo*, of course, is St. John's only. In the *Via Dolorosa*, St. John gives the chief figure of Christ bearing His Cross, but St. Luke

marked as extending from xxi. 37 to the end of the *Pericope*. This suggests that its connexion with St. Luke was liturgical rather than traditional or critical.

<sup>1</sup> St. Matthew relates the Parable, but does not paint the attitude.

adds the Daughters of Jerusalem. Similarly, St. John as an eye-witness paints the central group in the Crucifixion; but it is St. Luke who individualises the figures of the two thieves. The Entombment, and perhaps the Descent from the Cross, owe most to St. John.

The Descent into Hades, though the doctrine comes from St. Peter, owes its pictorial details to the so-called Gospel of Nicodemus, which, perhaps<sup>1</sup> alone among the apocryphal Gospels, is a work of some spiritual insight and imaginative power. The Resurrection is not really painted by any of the Evangelists; artists who have painted it do so by deduction from hints supplied chiefly by St. Matthew. The visit of the Maries to the Sepulchre is common to all the Gospels; the *Noli Me Tangere* is peculiar to St. John. But the journey to Emmaus, and the Supper there, are St. Luke's; and he gives, almost more fully than St. John, the Appearance to the Disciples, though he does not follow it up with the story of the Incredulity of St. Thomas. And St. Luke, and he only, completes the series of the earthly life of the Lord, as in its beginning, so in its end, by the picture of the Ascension in presence of the Disciples.

The true end, however, of the evangelical history is nothing short of the Last Judgment; and the picture of this comes partly from Daniel and St. John's Revelation, partly from St. Matthew—with the addition, in general, of some mythical and variable details. But though St. Luke does not present to us this consummation, he does continue the story "of all that Jesus *began* both to do and to teach, until the day that He was taken up," by telling us what was done through His Spirit, from that day

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the vitality, and the adoption into the cycle of subjects for art, of the legends about the Nativity and Infancy of the Blessed Virgin should be taken as evidence that the *Protevangelium Jacobi* has some artistic merit. But it may be only that curiosity about the Virgin's life led to anything being valued that pretended to satisfy it.



onward. And here St. Luke has the field to himself: there is no canonical writer to compete with him, and no apocryphal writer was able to do so. It is therefore superfluous to enumerate the scenes in the Acts, from the Descent of the Holy Ghost onwards, which have been or might be selected as subjects for art. But any notice of St. Luke's pictorial power would be inadequate, which did not include the two sublime groups of the Conversion of St. Paul and the Deliverance of St. Peter.

WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX

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*BREVIA.*

**Recent Discovery of Cuneiform Tablets at Tell el Amarna.**—The beginning of last winter was signalized by a discovery which may prove of the greatest importance in estimating the relations between the ancient civilizations of Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt. Some Egyptian fellahin were engaged in the lucrative pursuit of searching for relics among the ruins of Tell el Amarna, the temporary residence of the heretical Egyptian king of the eighteenth dynasty, Amenophis IV., and they had the good fortune to light upon a considerable number of clay tablets inscribed with the well-known Babylonian cuneiform signs. Some of these tablets passed into the possession of the Boulak museum under the present supervision of M. Grébaut; but an energetic German, Herr. Theod. Graf, obtained the larger number of these valuable documents, and they have since been secured for the royal collections in Germany. Mr. Pinches informs me that another portion has been secured for the British Museum. The fragments, after being pieced together, form altogether about 160 tablets, some of which are of unusual size. The spot where the discovery was made shows, in Prof. Erman's opinion, that the tablets belong to the end of the eighteenth dynasty, since Tell el Amarna, from all the evidence we possess, did not survive the reign of Amenophis IV. It is important to observe that along with the clay records were discovered a clay seal of this monarch and some alabaster tablets containing the name of his father, Amenophis III. The decipherment of the tablets fully bears out these indications. They contain letters from Asiatic kings addressed to two kings of Egypt, Nimmurija and his son Napchururija (Amenophis III. and IV.). Evidently we have in these clay documents a portion of the archives of the eighteenth dynasty. A notice in hieratic Egyptian proves that the letters addressed to Amenophis III. were originally preserved in Thebes, but that they were carried away along with other documents when the imperial residence was transferred to Tell el Amarna, and were probably thrown into a heap at the time of the destruction of the royal palace.

Among the foreign princes who corresponded with the Egyptian

Pharaohs we find a king Burnaburiaš, of Babylon, who is represented by five epistles. The existence of a close friendship between princes of such widely distant regions as Babylon and Egypt is in itself a remarkable fact, and its importance for chronology may be estimated by the conclusion we are able to establish, viz. that Kurigalzu, the father and predecessor of Burnaburiaš was a contemporary of Amenophis III., while Burnaburiaš himself lived at the same time as Amenophis IV.

The chief correspondent of Amenophis III. is King Dušratta, of Mitanni, who calls himself father-in-law of the former. In the correspondence, which appears to have been pretty active, the chief topic was the marriage of the daughter of the Babylonian monarch with Pharaoh. In the notice, written by the Egyptian keeper of the archives, which stands upon a letter from the ruler of Mitanni, a memorandum is made as to the date when this "letter from *Naharina*" arrived. We conclude therefore that Mitanni was the native name of the large state which the Egyptians call *Naharina* (comp. Schrader's *Cuneif. Inscr. and O.T.*, vol. i. p. 100, and footn. \*\*\*). According to Dr. Winckler, the land Mitanni is frequently named in connection with the land Hanigalmit, which Dr. Schrader has shown to be situated on the upper right bank of the Euphrates (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 151). Tiglath Pileser I. in his inscriptions speaks of the closely neighbouring Arazik (p. 228) as *ina pan mât Ḫatti*, "before the land Chatti" (or land of the Hittites). This powerful kingdom Mitanni, which Amenophis calls a neighbouring country, played among the kings of the eighteenth dynasty the same part that the empire of the Cheta (Egyptian for the Assyrian Chatti or Hittites) assumed in later times among the sovereigns of the nineteenth dynasty. It was the dominant power among the regions situated by the Northern Euphrates, a power with which the Pharaohs had to struggle in their contest for supremacy over Syria.

A large number of the tablets come from people who bear no princely title and style themselves servants of Pharaoh. The towns mentioned in the letters are situated in Syria and Phœnicia. We may suppose the writers to have been officers or vassals of Pharaoh, who administered for him the Asiatic possessions of Egypt. Thus we have letters from Byblos (Geba), Simyra (*Šumura*, Assy. *Šimira*)=𐤒𐤑, Megiddo (*Makida*), Akko (*Akka*,

Assyr. *Akkû*) and Ashkelôn (*Aškaluna*). Comp. Schrader, *COT.*, vol. i., pp. 89, 153, 156.

This discovery would lead us to the conclusion that the Babylonian language and script in the fifteenth century B.C. played a similar part in Egypt to that assumed by the language and script of Aramæa during the Persian dominion. It is therefore not surprising that the Egyptians were not satisfied with learning the contents of these documents from foreign interpreters, but Egyptian scribes took pains to master this complicated mode of writing. Evidence of this is to be seen in one curious tablet which contains a mythological text. Here one portion of the words are divided by points of black and red Egyptian ink. It is clear that an Egyptian scribe had used this extract for reading lessons, and, in order to lighten his difficult task, had divided the words.

The above remarks are based on the statement of Prof. Erman contained in the Transactions (*Sitzungsberichte*) of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences at Berlin, 1888. To that statement Prof. Schrader has added some interesting information. Details are given by the Assyriologist exhibiting the genuine character of the cuneiform records. Thus Egypt is designated (*mât*) *Miṣir*, as in Babylonian, instead of (*mât*) *Muṣur*, as in Assyrian; (comp. *COT.*, vol. i. p. 71, foll.) There are moreover some curious divergences in the Egyptian tablets from the prevailing Babylonian and Assyrian modes of writing cuneiform. The sign for *pi* bears the unwonted phonetic value *ma*, perhaps owing to a confusion. There are likewise linguistic as well as graphic peculiarities, showing that the writer was not resident in Babylonia. Thus we have *anuki* (𐎠𐎵𐎫) for the Babylono-Assyrian *anaku*, due probably to Canaanite influence.

Dr. Winckler, who has busied himself with these documents, points out the interesting fact that the prince of Mitanni (Mitāni) according to one of the tablets gave the messenger who was charged to convey the clay document to the Egyptian king, an interpreter (*targumānu*) whose office it was to translate the cuneiform. This word is of Aramaic origin. Aramaic, as is well known, has a verb, ܐܪܡܝܐ, "to interpret" (from which the word Targum is derived). The word for "interpreter" is ܐܪܡܝܐ, or ܐܪܡܝܐ<sup>oo</sup>. On the other hand, the usual Assyrian word is *bīl liṣani* (ܒܝܠ ܠܝܫܢ). See Schrader, *COT.*, vol. ii. pp. 91, 217 (glossary under ܒܝܠ).



Before closing this paper, I shall advert to a single point of special biblical interest. In my February article (p. 134) I made reference to Fried. Delitzsch's explanation of the enigmatic term, אַבְרָקֶן (Gen. xli. 43), as an official title and Babylono-Assyrian loan-word, *abarakku*. This view was first put forward by Delitzsch in 1880 (*Parad.*, p. 225). Both Nöldeke and Schrader (see *COT.*, vol. i. p. 139) had considered this explanation of a specifically Egyptian title or term as a Babylonian loan-word (*abarakku*), to be highly improbable. Delitzsch, however, has persisted in his view against all objections (see his *Prolegomena zu einem neuen Hebräisch Aramäischen Wörterbuch*, p. 145 and footnote); and it must now be confessed that the recent discoveries, exhibiting an active intercourse between Babylonian regions and Egypt, as well as the culture in Babylonian language and literature existing in Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., have placed Fried. Delitzsch's combination in a much more favourable light. This is acknowledged by Prof. Schrader. It is far from improbable that such a word may have been introduced into Egypt two centuries earlier, and existed as a Babylonian loan-term alongside of a large number of words of Semitic origin that have found their way into the ancient Egyptian speech.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

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## *IDEA OF OLD TESTAMENT PRIESTHOOD FULFILLED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.*

IN a previous paper we have endeavoured to point out the principle or idea of the priesthood, and have spoken of the central and dominating position assigned to it in the Old Testament economy as a whole. The priestliness of Israel as a people was the fundamental conception of its existence,—not its prophetical character, although it enjoyed a clearer and more perfect revelation of the will of God than had been granted to the other nations of the world; and not its kingly character, although it had the one only living and true God for its rightful King, who, reigning in the hearts of His subjects, made them partakers of His own royal dignity,—but that priestly character in which, so far as the circumstances of the times permitted, it walked with God and He with it in a union corresponding at once to the Divine nature and to the original destiny of man. As a priestly people Israel received its power to prophesy and its privilege to rule. As a priestly people it both attained the purpose of its own individual existence and became a lesson to the world.

But the Old Testament was preparatory to the New. No truth is more clearly stamped upon the latter than that under it the former is not annihilated in order that an entirely new state of things may be introduced. The essential ideas contained in the old economy are always taken up, extended, perfected, and confirmed for ever, in that by which it was succeeded. Our Lord's own words upon the point supply the clue which is to guide us

through the labyrinth of questions connected with this subject, "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished" (Matt. v. 17, 18). It is unnecessary to show either that the Old Testament Dispensation as a whole is here referred to, or that "the law" spoken of includes the law in all its parts, moral, ceremonial, and civil. Upon these points there is no difference of opinion worthy of mention, and we may start with the most perfect confidence from the assurance that every principle of the Old Testament Dispensation is "accomplished" in that of the New Testament. Among these the priesthood and the priestly functions in Israel must be found; while, at the same time, there is every reason to think that they will occupy a position amidst other parts of the Christian economy corresponding in importance to their position under that of the Jews.

Before, however, proceeding to inquire what this accomplishment or fulfilment in their case is, a more general question has to be asked. In what part of the sphere of New Testament revelation are we to seek the accomplishment of any part whatever of the economy of Israel? Is it in analogous ordinances, arrangements, and institutions; or is it, in the first instance at least, in Christ Himself and in Him alone? To this question it seems to us that only one answer can be given. Every part of the Jewish Dispensation is accomplished only in Christ; or, what amounts substantially to the same thing, in Christ along with the members of His body. The Head and the members, indeed, cannot be separated. According to the teaching of the sacred writers Christ and His people are so essentially and really one that whatever is predicated of the former may be predicated also of the latter. Believers

work their Lord's work, suffer in His sufferings, die with Him in His death, rise with Him in His resurrection, ascend with Him to the heavenly places, are seated with Him upon His throne, take part with Him in the final judgment, and throughout eternity are for ever with Him. Hence they are at times included even under His name. When St. Paul, writing to the Galatians, and referring to the promise given to Abraham, exclaims "He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ" (chap. iii. 16), he means by "Christ" not merely the personal Redeemer, but all who have in faith embraced Him. So also, writing to the Corinthians, he evidently uses the word "Christ" as inclusive of both the Saviour and His Church, when he says: "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ" (1 Cor. xii. 12): and it is unnecessary to prove that in the Revelation of St. John the Church is so identified with the glorious Personage seen in the first vision "like unto a son of man," that throughout the whole book the persecutions, sufferings, wars, and victories spoken of are those of the one not less than of the other. We are thus warranted in joining Christ and His Church in the closest possible connexion, when we urge that the institutions of the Mosaic economy are accomplished, not in institutions existing under the Christian Dispensation, but in that body, consisting of the Head and members, in which the Christian Dispensation is realized and exhibited to the eyes of men.

That this assertion is correct there appears to be ample proof. St. Paul taught it in its most general form when he said, "Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth"; or when again he said, "The law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But now that



faith is come we are no longer under a tutor. For ye are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus"; or once more when, referring to his own experience, he exclaimed: "I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God" (Rom. x. 4; Gal. iii. 24; ii. 19). In these passages, and others of a similar kind, the Apostle has "the law" considered as a whole in view. He is dealing with the legal dispensation, and his assertion is that that dispensation has passed away, not because it has been fulfilled in new and higher institutions, but because it has been fulfilled in Christ.

The lesson thus given in its general form is elsewhere taught by the same Apostle with reference to particular rites of Israel. Thus, to notice only one, which may be considered as a crucial instance, we read, "For our Passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ: wherefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. v. 7, 8). The "feast" alluded to in these words is neither the Passover of the law nor a Communion season of the Christian Church. It is the whole life of the followers of Jesus, as that life is led in Him, and as, in it all, they are partakers of His joy. Their Paschal Lamb is for them always slain. For them the incense of Christ's offering continually ascends before the throne of God. They have put the leaven of sin out of their hearts and lives, not for an hour only, or a day or a week, but for ever. Therefore they keep constant festival. Their whole life, with its memories of deliverance from bondage, and with the first-fruits of a spiritual harvest ripening around them in their free and independent home, has a festival light thrown over it. They always eat the flesh and drink the blood of One who never fails either to support or quicken them. The Christian Passover never ends.

It is in the Gospel of St. John, however, that the clearest teaching upon the point now before us is to be found. One of the main thoughts pervading that Gospel, and illustrating the truth stated in the Prologue, that, while the law was given through Moses, "the grace and the truth came through Jesus Christ," is that in Christ Himself we have the fulfilment of all the institutions of the Old Testament. It can hardly be denied that such is the point of view under which we are to read the miracle of the multiplying of the bread, with the discourses accompanying it, in chap. vi.—there Christ is the fulfilment of the Passover—or that we are to read in the same spirit the narrative of our Lord's action in the Temple at Jerusalem, at the feast of Tabernacles, as given in chap. vii.—there He is the fulfilment of that closing feast of the Jewish year. Let us pass from these, and take another and still greater institution of Israel, the Sabbath. No Jewish ordinance has in itself a deeper interest, and none can be more plausibly appealed to in order to establish a conclusion different from that for which we are contending. It appears most natural to think that the Sabbath of the Jewish, is fulfilled in the Lord's Day of the Christian, Church. Yet that is not the teaching of the fourth Evangelist. He leads us rather to believe that the Sabbath is fulfilled in something far wider, deeper, and more glorious than any single day, or any succession, at intervals, of single days, can be. It is fulfilled, like the Passover and Tabernacles, in Christ; for it is impossible to mistake the teaching of the incident at the pool of Bethesda, related in the fifth chapter of the Gospel. He who there heals the impotent man upon the Sabbath, and, by doing so, rouses in a greater than ordinary degree the opposition of His enemies, presents Himself to us, in His conversation with the Jews, as Himself the accomplishment of the sacred institute. To the complaint, that "He did these things on the Sabbath," He replies, "My Father

worketh even until now, and I work"—as much as to say, "Behold in My Father and in Me the right idea of that sabbath-rest which you show so much eagerness to preserve. My Father's work of love to man, and My work of love in him, never know one moment's pause. By day and by night, through the years and through the ages, We work on, seeking, alike in providence and in grace, to heal the wounds inflicted by the children of men upon themselves. In one sense, therefore, We never rest. Yet in another sense We always rest; for Our work is not like your work; and, in the end which We contemplate and the spirit in which We work, We find the uninterrupted rest of which you have only the shadow in that commandment you now profess so much anxiety to honour and obey. So far from being a violation of that commandment, works done in My Father are an accomplishment of its rest, and you may now behold both the works and the rest in Me." If we are thus taught in St. John's Gospel that the fourth commandment is fulfilled in Christ, we are taught elsewhere that it is fulfilled also in the Church. "There remaineth therefore," says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "a sabbatism (*σαββατισμός*) for the people of God" (chap. iv. 9). Time would be simply wasted in any attempt to show that this "sabbatism" cannot be understood of the keeping of the Christian Sunday. Here also, as in the narrative of our Lord's proceedings at Bethesda, the sacred writer rises to a nobler thought, and has his mind filled with a more glorious vision. He sees the Sabbath "accomplished" in the rest of that blessed inheritance to which Christians, as strangers and pilgrims in this world, were travelling; but, because it shall reach its perfection there, he sees it also now, as something to which they are already "come" (chap. xii. 22). Even now they keep endless Sabbath. Within them there is the constant peace of that hallowed day; and, whether they work or

rest, they so remember their Sabbath to keep it holy, that it sheds its peace not only over themselves, but over their sons and daughters, their man-servants and maid-servants, their cattle, and the stranger that is within their gates.

The illustrations now given of the principle for which we contend must suffice. But every sacred institution of Israel might be adduced for the same purpose; and, whether we had to speak of Pentecost or the Day of Atonement, of the Sabbatic year or the year of Jubilee, of the Tabernacle, or the altar of incense, or the shew-bread, or the golden candlestick, it might be shown that in no single Christian ordinance is their "accomplishment" to be sought. All of them are shadows of something higher than any ordinance, even of Him who is the substance of all the ordinances and the life of all the institutions of His people; of Him who is the Author and the Finisher of His people's faith; and whose own and whose people's life are one.

Were it otherwise it would indeed be hardly possible to avoid charging the Church of Christ with remissness and neglect of duty. As a simple matter of fact there are numerous ordinances of the Old Testament economy, to which, in her own arrangements, she has nothing to correspond. Nor can it be pleaded that these were less important than the others to which a closer analogy is found in the Christian system. All were equally ordained of God; all expressed definite and distinct ideas; and all were equally obligatory upon Israel. If therefore the New Testament Israel is to embody in corresponding outward forms the ideas which, though heightened and extended, have passed over to her from the ancient Church, she has no right to omit any institution upon which the seal of the Divine approbation was once set. Necessary to the religious life then, the inference would be irresistible that they are not less necessary now. We are not entitled to



pick and choose among them as we please. We must either adopt them all, or we must be able to show that their "accomplishment" in Christ involves the passing away of some along with the retention of others. This latter distinction cannot be carried out; and, on the supposition we are combating, we ought to find, not an occasional only, but a complete parallel between the types and shadows of the Jewish Church and the separate fulfillments of these in the Church as she is perfected in Christ.

On the other hand again, what has been said does not entitle us to infer, either that there are no positive institutions under the New Testament, or that there may not be a close resemblance between the institutions of Israel and the arrangements made by the Christian Church for the edification of her members. In point of fact we know that Christians have at least the divinely appointed Sacraments and the Ministry; and, when we remember that the principles of the religious life are in all ages essentially the same, we may expect that the Divine Spirit operating in the Church will guide her to institutions similar in their nature to those which were once shaped directly by His hand. What we contend for is simply this, that the ordinances and institutions of the legal economy are not fulfilled in corresponding ordinances and institutions under the economy of grace. They are fulfilled in Christ, together with His Body which is the Church. The arrangements of the Christian Church have their source and origin in the living and glorified Redeemer. They must flow from Him in a manner accommodated to the nature of man and the spiritual ends to be attained. Analogy to those of the Old Testament has nothing to do with the immediate grounds of their obligation upon us. Do they visibly express on earth what Christ is now invisibly at the right hand of the Father? Do they afford in the body suitable channels for the varied streams of emotion, affec-

tion, and action that spring from the Head, and ought to find utterance in the members? These are the questions that we have to ask; and when they can be answered in the affirmative with regard to any Christian ordinance, it is enough. The vine is in the branches, and the branches are in the vine.

Having made these general remarks we may now turn to the point immediately before us,—the accomplishment under the Christian Dispensation of the priesthood in Israel. That accomplishment is to be found in Christ and in His Church.

In the first place, it is to be found in Christ Himself. For in the New Testament not only are Christ's priestly qualifications and functions frequently alluded to, but the main purport of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to set forth that glorious priesthood of His in heaven, before which the priesthood of the older economy has waxed old and vanished away. Of this heavenly priesthood of our Lord, this priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, we shall have to speak more particularly in another paper. In the meantime we desire only to observe that, keeping the special Melchizedek element of our Lord's priesthood as much as possible out of view, we are entitled to use what is said of Him as High Priest in illustration of what He is as Priest. We cannot separate these two offices. It matters not that in the Epistle to the Hebrews we read mainly of Christ as High Priest, and that the services of the Great Day of Atonement lie at the bottom of the description there given us of His work. In their essence the two offices were one. Priest and high priest differed in rank, but there was no fundamental difference between them. The office of the former simply culminated in that of the latter, and all that was demanded of the latter was no more than a sharper and more definite expression of what was demanded of the former. If the priest was

the possession of God in a more peculiar sense than the ordinary Israelite by the confining of his office to the tribe of Levi and the descendants of Aaron, this principle of Divine possession received a clearer illustration in the case of the high priest by the restriction of that honour to the first born in Aaron's house through successive generations. If the ordinary priest had to be free from all uncleanness, but was permitted notwithstanding this, although under the penalty of being unclean until the evening, to touch the dead body of any one of his nearest relatives, such touching of even the body of either his father or mother was strictly forbidden to the high priest (Lev. xxi. 2, 11); while the general prescriptions for ceremonial purity were in the case of the latter both more numerous and more strict. If the ordinary priest was to be holy, and to have that feature of his office symbolically set forth in his garments, much more was holiness symbolized by the special garments of the high priest, and particularly by the golden plate worn on his forehead and having inscribed upon it HOLINESS TO THE LORD. And finally, the consecration of the high priest, while on the same lines as that of the priest, was greatly more elaborate and minute. In all these respects it will be seen that the high priesthood was simply the culmination of the ordinary priesthood. Commentators, accordingly, have always found it impossible to distinguish between the use of the two terms in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The high priest had, indeed, his own consecration and dress, and he discharged certain duties not permitted to the priest. Yet it was as a priest that he acted and was honoured. He was simply the first, in one sense the *primus inter pares*, of the priesthood, just as the services of the Day of Atonement were not essentially different from, but were the culminating point of, all the sacred services of the year. In the high priesthood there was

greater dignity and greater concentration of effect than in the priesthood; but, in all that was essential to calling, privilege, and work, the commonest priest who ministered at the altar occupied the same ground as Israel's greatest, most unique, and most honoured functionary. In Christ as High Priest, therefore, not less than in Christ as Priest, the "fulfilment" of the idea of priesthood is to be sought; and, when sought, it is found in Him.

Thus He possesses the two general qualifications fundamental to the thought of separation to the priesthood. (1) He was appointed to His office by God Himself. "He glorified not Himself to be made high priest, but He that spake unto Him, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee" (Heb. v. 5). (2) He can bear gently with the ignorant and erring, for "in the days of His flesh, having offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him out of death, and having been heard for His godly fear, though He was a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered; and, having been made perfect, He became unto all them that obey Him the Author of eternal salvation" (Heb. v. 7-9).

Not only so. In Him also were accomplished all the other personal qualifications of a perfect priest. Was the priest of Israel marked out as in an eminent degree the possession of God, and one who could thus come into nearer communion with God than others? It was so in the highest possible measure with Him of whom it was declared by the voice from heaven, "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii. 17), who said of Himself, "I and My Father are one" (John x. 30), and who is distinctly proclaimed to be "the effulgence of the Father's glory and the very image of His substance" (Heb. i. 3). Was it necessary that the priest should be free from all personal defect and from all uncleanness? Christ was



“holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners,” One who offered Himself “without blemish unto God” (Heb. vii. 26; ix. 14). Did the priest in Israel require to be more than free from uncleanness, to be positively holy? Christ could say, “Which of you convicteth Me of sin?” “I do always the things that are pleasing to Him that sent Me” (John viii. 46, 29); while His Apostle declares that He “did no sin, neither was guile found in His month” (1 Pet. ii. 22). Or, finally, were Israel’s priests not only divinely selected for their office, but consecrated to it? Christ was not only chosen of God, but was consecrated by the most full and perfect unction of the Spirit. His flesh was conceived by the power of the Spirit in the womb of the Virgin Mary: at His baptism the Spirit of God descended upon Him: He was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness that there, tempted of the devil, He might both taste and overcome what were to be the most fiery trials of His future messianic work: He returned in the power of the Spirit to begin His labours; the Spirit was upon Him when He preached: by the Spirit of God He wrought the works which both attested and illustrated the Divine origin and nature of His mission, until at last through the eternal Spirit He offered Himself unto God (Matt. i. 20; iii. 16; iv. 1; Luke iv. 14, 18; xi. 20; Heb. ix. 14).

As with our Lord’s personal qualifications, so also with His work. Of the precise nature of His Offering, His Intercession, and His Benediction we shall speak hereafter. In the meantime it is enough to say that throughout the New Testament these three functions are constantly ascribed to Him. However differently the Church may at different times have conceived of Christ’s offering, she has never doubted that by Him that offering was made in which alone we are accepted and complete. She has never failed to believe that in Him we have an Advocate and Intercessor with the

Father. She has never ceased to look to Him as the source of all strength and comfort for her warfare and pilgrimage in life. These things are too plainly written in the New Testament to permit a moment's hesitation in regard to them, while in the richness, the fulness, and the perfection that are connected with them, they witness to an "accomplishment" in Christ of all of which they speak, and therefore to the "accomplishment" of the priestly office in Him.

Finally, Christ fulfils the great end of the priesthood, for by Him and in Him we draw near to God. No longer at a distance from Him whom we have offended and whose judgment we deserve, we have boldness in approaching Him by that Redeemer who has revealed Himself as the "Way." No longer oppressed by a spirit of bondage, we receive the spirit of adoption, crying Abba, Father. No longer trembling at the foot of Sinai, we are "come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than that of Abel" (Heb. xii. 22-24).

Thus then was everything connected with the priesthood of Israel fulfilled in Christ. Every essential principle which there found a partial and outward expression in the person and in the work of the sons of Aaron was spiritualised, extended, and perfected in Him whom the Father sealed, and who, at once God and man, was the Mediator of the better covenant established upon better promises. Not for Himself alone did Jesus draw near, or does He now draw near, to God in the most free and joyful confidence of access to the Father. That He had always done. Through the eternity that was past He had been the Father's delight, rejoicing always before Him. But now He took the whole

line of His spiritual descendants with Him into the Father's presence. As the high priest of old bore upon his jewelled breastplate the names of all the tribes of Israel, so He bore His spiritual Israel in His heart when He drew near to the throne of God; and they drew near in Him. He is their representative in the deepest and fullest meaning of the word, so that, as He lives in them they live in Him (though in such a way that it may be said that they live also in "themselves"), all His privileges are theirs: "I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected into one"; "and I made known unto them Thy name, and will make it known, that the love wherewith Thou lovedst Me may be in them, and I in them" (John xvii. 23, 26).

Hence also the priesthood of the Old Testament Dispensation is fulfilled not in Christ only but in His Church. We do not at present ask whether within the general Christian priesthood there may be another priesthood? nor, if it be so, do we inquire in the meantime as to the mutual relations between the two. For the purpose immediately before us it is enough to say that speaking of the Church, it is necessary to speak of it as a whole; for, as a whole and not in any of its parts, it is the Body of Christ and identified with Him. No group of members however, in its active service, more important than another, can either perform the functions, or claim the privileges, or discharge the responsibilities of the Body.

The priesthood then is fulfilled not only in Christ, but in His Church taken as a whole. If indeed we start from the idea that there is no visible Church; if we regard the Church simply as invisible and ideal, composed of all everywhere who have embraced the Gospel and are animated by the Spirit; if there be no such thing as organization among the members, and no united life, then of course it is impossible to speak of the Church's priesthood. But the moment we admit, with the great body of Christians

in all ages as well as now, that our Lord did institute a kingdom, a community, a body, which He intended to be visible, that moment the priesthood of the Church follows by necessary consequence from His own priesthood. The fundamental fact of Christianity, the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, leads directly to it. Let us notice briefly the argument of the fourth Evangelist upon the point. According to the first chapter of his Gospel, the light of the Word who "was with God and was God," had been always shining with more or less brightness in the world. It had been "the light of *men*." It had lightened not only God's ancient people in their divinely provided fold, but also those "other sheep" which, as we learn at a later point in the same Gospel, were yet to be brought into the one flock of the one Shepherd (chap. x. 16). Thus it had been up to the time of the Christian era. Then there was a great development. Then the light, no longer shining merely as a spiritual influence in the minds of men, reached its culminating point and assumed its concrete and most powerful reality in the Son. Then that Word who had hitherto been only an unseen light to men "became flesh, and tabernacled among us (and we beheld His glory, glory as of an only begotten from a father), full of grace and truth" (chap. i. 14), while the effect of His Incarnation was that, whereas no man had seen God at any time, "the only begotten which was in the bosom of the Father, He declared Him" (ver. 18); that is, came not simply as a spiritual influence from Him, but set Him forth to the eyes of men. Then the Father was *seen* in the Son. The same principle must still continue to operate. No reason can be assigned why it should have taken effect only during the short period of our Lord's ministry upon earth, or why, after His departure, the world should be left without any visible support to cling to, without any visible ark in which to find refuge. It was not so left. According to chaps. xiv.-xvii.



of the same Gospel, our Lord, on His return to the Father, commissioned His Church to take His place, and to become a visible representative of Himself. There is surely nothing unreasonable in this. Surely the visible is not by the mere fact of its visibility despiritualised. Surely man may be most successfully appealed to when regard is had to both sides of his nature, and not to one alone. The words of an able, though anonymous, writer may be quoted upon this point.

“The origin and cause of all that is done in the Christian Church is the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is a Spirit, essentially invisible. In Him is all life, and grace, and power to bless; He is visible in the God-man Christ Jesus; and only from, and by, and through that God-man, all that is in God for us can come to us; and except through Him that is visible, we can receive nothing from Him who is the invisible. Jesus Christ is the image of the invisible God, the symbol of Him who is invisible; the channel, the means, through which all spiritual grace and power come. But for the time being, and during the period between His first and second advents, He also is invisible to us. He therefore has instituted certain images, or symbols, which represent Him in some character, or office, or ministry, or act, or operation, or some fact concerning Him. And, by means of these, Christ ordinarily ministers to His people the grace, power, and blessing of those offices, acts, and operations which they respectively symbolize; and, by the use of them in the manner He has appointed, the faithful obtain that grace and blessing. The material part of our Lord’s human nature, in and by which God is imaged and symbolized to us, and through which all grace is ministered to us, is taken from the substance of this earth; and all those symbolic things of which we speak must be of the substance of, and appertaining to, this material creation. . . . The Church cannot *omit* any of them; cannot *change* any; cannot *substitute* anything else in their places; she cannot add to, she cannot take from any of them, without suffering consequent detriment and loss.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the principle, and from that principle it follows by direct and immediate consequence that whatever function is characteristic of the Head of the Church must be manifested in the body. We have already seen, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Creation and Redemption*, p. 30.

that the priestly offices of the Old Testament Dispensation are fulfilled in Christ; they must therefore be also fulfilled in His Church. "As He is, even so are we in this world" (1 John iv. 17).

Upon all that is involved in this we cannot now dwell; and the work of the priestly Church will be best considered after we have spoken of that Melchizedek, or heavenly, priesthood of our Lord of which it is the immediate expression. In the meantime we have only to ask whether the presuppositions, the conditions and the general functions predicated of Christ as Priest, are also in the New Testament predicated of His Church. The answer to that question must be given in the affirmative. For, as to the presuppositions belonging to the Church's character and work, it cannot be doubted that,—

(1) She enters upon her commission, whatever her commission be, not as taking honour to herself, but as called of God. She is an elect body, separated from the world by free selecting mercy, and not owing to any merit of her own; and she is elected for the very purpose of being, in holy communion and fellowship, one with God. She is chosen out of the world that she may be in a special manner the recipient of Divine grace, and may exhibit its quickening, elevating, and consoling power. It is a mistake to think that the Church exists only, or even mainly, as a centre of missionary action either at home or abroad. She is to *be* before she is to *do*. She is to shine as a light in the midst of darkness; but the light must be kindled and fed before it will burn. She is to be a city set on a hill that cannot be hid; but the city must be built before it can be seen. She is to sing the Lord's song in a strange land; but she must perfect her own power in singing it before she can attract others by her music. The first duty of the Church is to have regard to her own internal condition, and to see that it is worthy of her Lord. It may be the policy of this

world's rulers to turn the thoughts of men from internal anarchy to foreign war. In the Church, the policy which, whether consciously or unconsciously, substitutes multiplied forms of external exertion for the healing of internal ills, is false and ruinous. She is first of all summoned to be priestly, and a priest is one who worships in God's holy place and abides within His tabernacle. And this is her *commission*. It is her duty, not her policy. There is no presumption in it. Her confidence before God rests upon no high estimate of her own powers and gifts, but upon the fact that she is the messenger of Christ, and upon the assurance that, so long as she is faithful to her Lord, He will not fail her. The whole New Testament bears witness to this aspect of the Church's mission. It is the thought not only of the texts that we have referred to but of many like them; and, in particular, it is the prominent thought both of the Redeemer's high priestly prayer, and of that supreme moment when He breathed upon His disciples, and said to them, "Peace be unto you; as the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you" (John xx. 21).

(2) The second presupposition of the priesthood is not less spoken of throughout the New Testament as fulfilled in the Church—sympathy with the suffering children of men, compassion for the ignorant and them that are out of the way. The most distinguishing mark of the Church is love. It is the "royal law according to the Scriptures," "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself": "Beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another": "Now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love" (James ii. 8; 1 John iv. 11; 1 Cor. xiii. 13). Love is the essence, the evidence, and the fruit of drawing near to God; and, reflected from the Divine love, is itself a Gospel. The large and generous heart that feels and weeps and prays for all, carries good news, reaching far beyond its actual gift, to the labouring

and heavy laden children of men. The Church's warm hand and pitying voice and eye filled with tears of sympathy, are the sources of her influence, when thunders of excommunication would be as unheard as the earthquake that rolls past unnoticed amidst the din of battle. No zeal for truth, no gifts of power, no martyr spirit, can be a substitute for love.

These then are the two chief marks of the Church of Christ as she is set before us in the New Testament. The two embrace the whole of her position, and are in the most intimate manner dependent upon one another. As she looks heavenward, she is called to union with God; as she looks earthward, to sympathy with man; without the first there cannot be the second (1 John iv. 21); without the second there cannot be the first (1 John iv. 20); and the two are the prerequisites of the priesthood.

Not only, however, are these prerequisites of priesthood thus found in the Church of Christ, she comes before us in the New Testament as possessed of all the qualifications required of those by whom the priestly office in Israel was held. It is unnecessary to enlarge on these, and the simple mention of them will be enough. The Church is God's own peculiar possession, consisting of those who are not their own but His, who have been adopted as children into His family, who are the sons and the daughters of the Lord Almighty, and into whose hearts, because they are sons, God has sent the Spirit of His Son, crying *Abba, Father*. She is, negatively, free from all uncleanness; for her members have purged out the old leaven of malice and wickedness, have died to sin, and have put off the old man which was corrupt according to the deceitful lusts of the flesh. Nor may they fail to combine with this a positive righteousness, for they have to be holy as God is holy, and perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. While, lastly, they are consecrated to God's service with the



"unction from the Holy One," the Spirit that dwelleth in them, and shall be in them. Every qualification, in short, of the ancient priesthood, although in its fulfilled and accomplished form, is spoken of in the New Testament as marking, not only the Saviour Himself, but also the members of His body. Whether they have a priestly work to do as well as a priestly character to bear we shall see hereafter. In the meantime it is enough to say that, as we cannot separate the idea of priesthood from the Vine, so neither can we separate from the branches the privilege, the responsibility, and the duty which the term implies.

W. MILLIGAN.

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### THE PAULINE ANTILEGOMENA.

It is not proposed here to dispute what may be considered the opinion now general in England, that the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews on the one hand is not the actual work of the Apostle Paul, on the other that it was written by some one who had felt his influence strongly. In all this there is nothing arbitrary, nothing that is not supported by something in either the internal or the external evidence. But when it is attempted—sometimes when the attempt is abandoned—to determine who the actual author was, certain tacit assumptions are usually made, which do appear to be arbitrary, and which, as we shall find, certain minute phenomena appear to contradict. If we can eliminate these arbitrary assumptions, it will bring us a step nearer to right views about the Epistle, even though the result, as to its authorship, be no more than negative. These arbitrary assumptions, indeed, are not required by those who keep closest to the traditional belief. Those who regard the Epistle as written under St. Paul's actual direction have real evidence in their favour—external evidence, in the fact

that the Church of Alexandria, and perhaps others, very early accepted it without question as his, and internal evidence in the similarity of the last chapter in its arrangement to the conclusion of St. Paul's acknowledged Epistles—especially to his habit of adding an autograph postscript to what was "written," in at least the mechanical sense, by some one else. Again, while the tradition of the Egyptian Church ascribed the Epistle to St. Paul, there was a Western tradition, probably as old, ascribing it to St. Barnabas. The fact that learning and biblical criticism were earlier developed in Alexandria than in the West, does not make the tradition received by Clement more trustworthy than that received by Tertullian; and criticism, when it came, if it did not support the Western tradition, did more to refute the Alexandrian than it.

We have therefore nothing to say against any one who, refusing to admit that the Epistle is virtually anonymous, regards it either as composed by St. Barnabas, or as proceeding from St. Paul, though he allowed more freedom in composition than usual to the secretary employed for the actual writing. But we desire to point out, that it is only on one or other of these two hypotheses, that we have any conclusive reason to believe that the author was a personal associate of the Apostle; and that it is only on the former hypothesis, that we have any reason at all to believe that he was one of his associates known to us by name, or by more than name. It is possible that the Pauline impress on the thoughts of the writer had come to him only at second hand, or only through the study of written works; or, even admitting that he knew the Apostle personally, he may have only known him towards the close of his life, after the period covered by the Acts of the Apostles.

And there is one fact that seems to give probability to one or other of these possibilities; opinions will differ which. The vocabulary of the Epistle has not much in

common with that of St. Paul generally; there is hardly anything but the comp. adv. *περισσοτέρως*, and the use of *νῦν* or *νυνὶ* in the sense of "actually," "as things are." But it has a quite appreciable amount in common with that group of the writings bearing St. Paul's name which is undoubtedly the latest in date, and of which the genuineness is most fairly open to question—the three Pastoral Epistles.

In the first place, we have the following words common to Hebrews and the Pastoral Epistles, but found nowhere else in the N.T.

<i>Ἀπόλαυσις</i> :	1 Tim. vi. 17;	Heb. xi. 25.
<i>ἀφιλάργυρος</i> :	1 Tim. iii. 3;	Heb. xiii. 5.
<i>βέβηλος</i> :	1 Tim. i. 9, iv. 7, vi. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 16;	Heb. xii. 16.
<i>ἐκτρέπεσθαι</i> :	1 Tim. i. 6, v. 15, vi. 20; <sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 4;	Heb. xii. 13.
<i>ὀνειδισμός</i> :	<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 7;	Heb. x. 33, xi. 26, xiii. 13.
<i>ὀρέγεσθαι</i> :	<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 1, vi. 10;	Heb. xi. 16.
<i>πρόδηλος</i> :	<sup>4</sup> 1 Tim. v. 24;	Heb. vii. 14.

*Γυμνάζειν* is found in 1 Timothy iv. 7; Hebrews v. 14, xii. 11; but this is also found in 2 Peter ii. 14, and so is not *absolutely* peculiar to these two among N.T. authors. It is however worth remembering, that whensoever or by whomsoever that Epistle was written, it was written by one who had studied St. Paul's Epistles. The same writer has four times the otherwise exclusively Pauline word *ἐπίγνωσις* : but the fuller phrase *ἐπίγνωσις (τῆς) ἀληθείας* is found only in 1 Timothy ii. 4; 2 Timothy ii. 25, iii. 7; Titus i. 1, and Hebrews x. 26. Again, *ἐμπεσεῖν* is not a very rare word in the N.T.; but it is always used either in a physical or in a consciously parabolic sense, except in 1 Timothy iii. 6, 7, vi. 9, and Hebrews x. 31.

<sup>1</sup> Here only c. acc.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Rom. xv. 4; but that, being a quotation from the LXX., cannot be cited as another Pauline instance. <sup>3</sup> We have however *δρεξίς* in Rom. i. 27.

<sup>4</sup> It may be doubted if the word has exactly the same meaning in the two places; the prep. has a distinctive force in 1 Timothy which it is hard to recognise in Hebrews.

But the evidence of vocabulary does not end here. Another phrase peculiar, at least in its exact shade of meaning, to these two groups of writings is found, with slight modification, in another. We have δι' ἣν αἰτίαν used as virtually equivalent to διὸ in 2 Timothy i. 6; Titus i. 13, and in Hebrews ii. 11. The same words occur in Luke viii. 47; Acts xxii. 24; but there the sense is what we should express in English by "for *what* cause," not "for *which* cause." In Acts x. 21, xxiii. 28, we have ἡ αἰτία (τὴν αἰτίαν) δι' ἣν, and in xxviii. 20 διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν; and these phrases are virtually equivalent to the one under discussion, except as far as in xxiii. 28 (as perhaps in xxii. 24) the sense of "charge" mingles with that of "cause."

Here then we find an affinity in the language of Hebrews not only with the Pastorals, but with the writings commonly ascribed to St. Paul's companion St. Luke. We cannot trace further the likeness in the use of αἰτία. Where SS. Matthew, Mark, and John have the word in their accounts of the "charge" against our Lord, St. Luke has thrice the neuter form αἴτιον (xxiii. 4, 14, 22); in Acts he once again (xix. 40) uses that form; and once (xxv. 7) αἰτίωμα; and he never, like Hebrews (v. 9) has the personal form αἴτιος. But we shall find that words or phrases common to Hebrews with St. Luke are somewhat more numerous than those common with the Pastorals; while some few are common to all three. Of the last we have—

μεταλαμβάνειν; Acts ii. 46 (xxiv. 25 c. acc.), xxvii. 33-4.	2 Tim. ii. 6.	Heb. vi. 7, xii. 10.
παρατεῖσθαι: Luke xiv. 18 bis-19; Acts xxv. 11.	1 Tim. iv. 7, v. 11; 2 Tim. ii. 23; Tit. iii. 10.	Heb. xii. 19, 25, bis.
τυγχάνειν c. gen.; Luke xx. 35; Acts xxiv. 3, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 3.	2 Tim. ii. 10.	Heb. viii. 6, xi. 35.
ἄρην ἔχειν; Luke xvii. 9.	1 Tim. i. 12; 2 Tim. i. 3.	Heb. xii. 28.



There is no sufficient reason for doubting the meaning in the last passage to be the same as in the others.

But if we now leave the Pastoral Epistles out of sight, and note the words or phrases which Hebrews has in common with St. Luke only, we find that while some of them are purely verbal—while some seem almost too plainly accidental to be worth noticing—others on the contrary have some theological significance. Of purely verbal coincidences we have—

ἀναδεχέσθαι: Acts xxviii. 7;	Heb. xi. 17.
ἀναθεωρεῖν: Acts xvii. 23;	Heb. xiii. 7.
ἀπογράφεσθαι: Luke ii. 1, 3, 5 (ἀπογραφή, <i>ibid.</i> 2, Acts v. 37); Heb. xii. 23.	
ἀσάλευτος: Acts xxvii. 41;	Heb. xii. 28.
διαβαίνειν: Luke xvi. 26; Acts xvi. 9;	Heb. xi. 29.
ἐντρομος: Acts vii. 32; xvi. 29;	Heb. xii. 21.
ἦχος: Luke iv. 37, xxi. 25 <sup>1</sup> (true text); Acts ii. 2;	Heb. xii. 19. <sup>1</sup>
καταφεύγειν: Acts xiv. 6;	Heb. vi. 18.
παροικεῖν: <sup>2</sup> Luke xxiv. 18;	Heb. xi. 9.
παροξυσμός: Acts xv. 39; <sup>3</sup>	Heb. x. 24. <sup>3</sup>
ὑπαρξίς; Acts ii. 45;	Heb. x. 34.

We may add προσφάτως in Acts xviii. 2 and πρόσφατος in Hebrews x. 20, and perhaps εἰσάγειν, which is found once in John xviii. 16, but three times in Luke, six in Acts, and nowhere else in the N.T. but Hebrews i. 6; also κυκλοῦσθαι of cities in Luke xxi. 20; Hebrews xi. 30 (the act. in Acts xiv. 20, and in John x. 24, has a person for object; in Revelation xx. 9 read ἐκύκλευσαν); προσδέχεσθαι, with abstract obj. in the sense of "accept," perhaps in Acts xxiv. 15, and certainly in Hebrews x. 34. Clearer cases than these last are ἀποθνήσκειν, "to be dying," in Luke viii. 42; Hebrews xi. 21 (cf. vii. 8); contrast John iv. 47, ἡμελλεν

<sup>1</sup> The word is differently declined in these two places.

<sup>2</sup> But πάροικος in Eph. ii. 19; 1 Pet. ii. 11, and παροικία, 1 Pet. i. 17, as well as Acts vii. 6, 29 and xiii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> The word has not really different senses in these places; its use in the latter is a conscious oxymoron.

ἀποθνήσκειν; λαμβάνειν, of "receiving" an *office* in Luke xix. 12, 15; Acts i. 20 (from LXX.), xx. 24; Hebrews vii. 5; perhaps also Acts xxvi. 10; Hebrews v. 4. Μάστιξ, common in the sense of "plague," is used literally only in Acts xxii. 24; Hebrews xi. 36; περικεῖσθαι, with an acc. only in Acts xxviii. 20; Hebrews v. 2. For the common ἐν εἰρήνῃ or εἰς εἰρήνην, we have μετ' εἰρήνης in Acts xv. 33; Hebrews xi. 31, and εἰς τὸ παντελὲς in Luke xiii. 11; Hebrews vii. 25.

Last of all purely verbal coincidences, we may notice three that seem to refute an otherwise tempting theory. The arrangement of the last chapter is so like St. Paul's manner of concluding an Epistle, that it must have occurred to almost every one to ask if this may possibly be his in a fuller sense than the rest; and an attentive reader, if not a minute critic, might fancy that vv. 22-25 were from the Apostle's own hand. But just in these few verses we get two or three words or phrases which are not Pauline, but are Lucan: τὸν λόγον τῆς παρακλήσεως (cf. Acts xiii. 15), ἐπέστειλα (Acts xv. 20, xxi. 25 ?); we may add ἀπολελυμένον as non-Pauline, though all the Gospels have it in common with St. Luke in the sense of "releasing" a prisoner, and all but St. John in the more general sense of "dismissal."

This gives a warning to those who need it, how necessary it is not to be content with vague impressions of likeness or unlikeness of style, but to supplement them by minute analysis of language. And yet it is not less necessary to remember that the words actually found in a short writing do not exhaust the vocabulary that its author had available for use, that ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are to a great extent a matter of accident, and especially in so small a body of literature as the N.T. The significance of the above lists cannot be estimated without weighing as well as counting the words contained in them; it may prove something of community of thought or language if two writers use a word like

ἀπόλανσις or βέβηλος, but hardly if they use so simple a word as διαβαίνειν. Still, it is hard to say what coincidences may not be significant. Thus in the use of ἔντρομος in Acts vii. 32; Hebrews xii. 21, certainly is so; and it has the same significance that "the Red Sea" is only mentioned in the N.T. in Acts vii. 36; Hebrews xi. 29. The O.T. is treated on the same method in St. Stephen's speech and in Hebrews, whether we say that Paul had learnt from Stephen and the author of Hebrews from Paul, or are content to say only that the authors of Acts and of Hebrews belong to the same school. The same significance attaches to the use of πατριάρχης in Acts ii. 29, vii. 8, 9; Hebrews vii. 4. Thus the most instructive coincidences will be those which on the one hand are definitely formal or verbal, but which on the other are plainly traceable to some mental habit or theological tendency. Now there are many things of this kind to connect Hebrews with St. Luke; but we may begin with a word connecting it rather with St. Paul, which will serve to illustrate the range both of accident and of really significant coincidence in the use of words.

The use of μετέχειν and μέτοχος in Hebrews ii. 14, iii. 1, 14, v. 13, vi. 4, vii. 13, xii. 8, is certainly characteristic of that Epistle. We ought indeed to include i. 9; for that, though derived from the LXX., gives an instance of the way that the author takes a keynote from an O.T. passage, and pursues the theme at length with original variations. Now μετέχειν is found in no other N.T. writer except St. Paul; he has it five times, but *all in two successive chapters of one Epistle* (1 Cor. ix. 10, 12, x. 17, 21, 30). He has once (2 Cor. vi. 14) the abstract subst. μετοχή, and συμμέτοχος twice in Ephesians: but μέτοχος is found nowhere in the N.T. out of Hebrews, except in Luke v. 7, where it has only a secular sense. But the almost synonymous words, κοινωνός, -νεῖν, -νία, run through nearly all the N.T. writers. We get them thrice in Hebrews (ii. 14, x. 33, xiii. 16);

the relatively greater frequency of μετ. in that Epistle is really the only result of our analysis.

Thus cautioned against attaching undue importance to mere coincidences of phrase, we proceed to examine the theological language of St. Luke and of Hebrews. We find that πάσχειν is used absolutely (*i.e.* without an acc.) eleven times in the first Epistle of St. Peter. Of these passages three (ii. 21, 23, iv. 1*a*;—in iii. 18 read ἀπέθανεν, but the T.R. shows what scribes or editors felt to be St. Peter's manner) refer to the sufferings of Christ, and six (ii. 19, 20, iii. 14, 17, iv. 19, v. 10) to those of Christians; one (iv. 1*b*) indirectly to the former, and one (iv. 15) to the latter. St. Paul has the use three times only (1 Cor. xii. 26; Phil. i. 29; 2 Thess. i. 5); in two places, and perhaps by implication in the third, it refers to the sufferings of Christians, but never of Christ. But in Luke xxii. 15, xxiv. 46 (here οὕτως is joined with the verb; cf. Matt. xvii. 12), Acts i. 3, xvii. 3, it is always of "the Passion"; and so Hebrews ii. 18, ix. 26, xiii. 12, not to count v. 8, where the phrase is proverbial and the object in some sort expressed.

The phrase with which the Epistle to the Hebrews opens, in which Divine revelations are described as "God speaking," occurs again in v. 5, xii. 25. We have it twice in the Evangelical Canticles (Luke i. 55, 70), four times in Acts (iii. 21, vii. 6, 44,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 25), and only once (John ix. 29) in the whole N.T. besides.

Ἀρχηγός is used twice in Acts, twice in Hebrews, always of Christ: three times *c. gen.* (Acts iii. 15; Heb. ii. 10, xii. 2), once (Acts v. 31) absolutely, but coupled with σωτήρα, making the parallel to Hebrews ii. 10 (τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν) almost closer than if it had been formal.

<sup>1</sup> It may be questioned whether here ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωυσῇ is conceived as ὁ Θεός or as ἄγγελος Κυρίου. If we extend our view to cases where λαλεῖν is similarly used, but without "God" being directly the subject, the use will still appear characteristic of Hebrews and St. Luke, though St. John will furnish more parallels to ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν Τίμῃ.



*Ἀντίρωσις* is found only in Luke i. 68, ii. 38; Hebrews ix. 12. Both writers have *ἀπολύτρωσις* (Luke xxi. 28; Heb. ix. 15, xi. 35) in common with St. Paul: but it seems that in St. Luke, not in Hebrews, the distinction holds good between the words which St. Chrysostom sees (*In Rom. Hom.* xiv. [xv.], *ad* viii. 23); the first applying to what Christ has done, the second to what He yet has to do for His people.

The interest in the Jewish priesthood, and insistence in the sacrifice of Christ, common to St. Luke and Hebrews, might explain their being the only N.T. writings where we meet with *ἱερατεία*, the common biblical word for "priesthood" (Luke i. 9; Heb. vii. 5). Here there is, indeed, an element of accident: for Hebrews prefers the (more classical) *ἱερωσύνη* (vii. 11, 12, [14?] 24), and St. Peter, who has the cognate *ἱεράτευμα* (1. ii. 5, 9), might have used *ἱερατεία*: still the fact is worth notice. *Ἀνάμνησις* has a sacrificial meaning in Hebrews x. 3; some would say that it has in Luke xxii. 19 and the parallel 1 Corinthians xi. 24-5. If not, it would no doubt be a mere accident that these three are the only instances of the word in the N.T. *Ἡγούμενος* is used substantivally of "a ruler," almost always of *spiritual* office, in Luke xxii. 26; Acts vii. 10, perhaps xiv. 12, xv. 22, and in Hebrews xiii. 7, 17, 24. These however can hardly be said to be the *only* N.T. instances; for Matthew ii. 6, though a quotation, is not from the LXX.

In view of these resemblances of thought and language, the suggestion has found favour since Origen's time, that St. Luke may have written the Epistle to the Hebrews, whether under St. Paul's direction or otherwise. And as he, in view of 2 Timothy iv. 11, is the only person who can have been associated with St. Paul in the composition of the three Pastoral Epistles, it may be said that the coincidences with these strengthen the probability of this conjecture. And so it might, were it possible to believe that,

in personal utterances such as these Epistles appear to be, the Apostle should leave to a secretary anything beyond the mere mechanical act of writing. But apart from subjective prejudices like these, we can hardly believe that the Third Gospel, the Acts, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, all proceeded from one author. Every one knows that they are the most classical in style, the ablest as mere literary compositions, of the New Testament writings. On the other hand, both authors have too good taste, or too sound spiritual judgment, to allow themselves that affectation of classicalism which in Josephus, perhaps even in Philo, is felt constantly as a *tour de force* unworthy of a serious thinker or writer, sometimes as a sacrifice of religious sincerity to literary elegance. And we have seen that they agree in some more subtle or less obvious peculiarities, both of language and of thought. Yet the similarity between either the thought or the language of the two stops very far short of identity. In mere vocabulary, the difference is immense. The words, not merely *de facto* peculiar to Hebrews, but characteristic of its manner and method, outnumber those common to it with St. Luke; and St. Luke has words peculiar to himself, more numerous absolutely, though less so in proportion to the length of his writings, than those in Hebrews.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statistics are inadequate to measure the truth of a statement like this, but in a rough way they correspond with it. It may therefore be worth while to say, that Dr. Thayer's lists, in his appendix to Grimm's *Lexicon of the N.T.*, give from 750 to 851 words as peculiar to St. Luke, from 158 to 168 as peculiar to Hebrews; the Third Gospel and Acts together being about 7 or 8 times the length of the Epistle. Of the words peculiar to Hebrews, about 45 may be considered as really characteristic of the writer's style and vocabulary, in comparison with perhaps 25 words, or *senses or groups of words*, which we have noticed as characteristic of both Luke and Hebrews. It is hardly possible to say how many of St. Luke's individualisms are really characteristic; it is of course no mere accident that he is the only N.T. writer who talks of Proconsuls and Politarchs, or of ships' bows or foresails, but this is the peculiarity of his subject not of his style. Allowing for this, we may say roughly that his characteristic words are about three times as many absolutely, or hardly half as many relatively, as those of Hebrews.

And if the number of their individualisms in vocabulary proves nothing, their quality does. St. Luke, like the author of Hebrews, uses classical or literary words which other N.T. authors do not; but he does not, like him, delight in sonorous compounds, whether culled, like ὀρκωμοσία, from the resources of the classical language, or coined after the classical model by the writer himself or some fellow-member of the Alexandrian school, as we cannot doubt was the case with αἵματεκχυσία, μισθαποδοσία.

If we pass from the minutiae of vocabulary to the broader qualities of style, we shall find the distinction between the two at least equally marked. It is indeed hard to say that St. Luke *could* not have written a work like Hebrews; we see him to have been an eminently versatile writer, able to vary his style according to his subject. But we can say that he *did* not write like Hebrews, even when he was writing in a similar hortatory tone and on a very similar subject; compare Acts xiii. 38-41, xxviii. 17-28<sup>1</sup> with Hebrews iii. 12-iv. 13, not to say vi. 4-12.

If then we set aside the theory that St. Luke was the writer, as more than a mere scribe, of the Pastoral Epistles, and the author (with or without suggestions and direction from St. Paul) of that to the Hebrews, what result have we from our inquiry? Much less than we may have hoped; but perhaps as much as this. The Pastoral Epistles, that to the Hebrews, and the two books ascribed to St. Luke proceeded from three different writers, but writers who all belonged to the same circle. In this circle the name of Paul was held in high honour; his doctrine of the calling of the Gentiles, and of salvation by faith, was heartily accepted and insisted on. But the influence of Paul was felt through some other channel than the study of his public Epistles: and there was a disposition to deal

<sup>1</sup> It may be thought that in the former passage the language is really in part St. Paul's own, not St. Luke's; but can it in the latter?

more tenderly with Judaism than he had done when he wrote them—to insist less than he there had done on the contrast between the Law and the Gospel, and more on the Divine purpose of the former as preparatory for the latter.

Now is it likelier that this state of things arose in the last year or two of St. Paul's own life, or not till the last two decades of the first century? In St. Clement's time (A.D. 96-7) Hebrews held an honourable, perhaps we may say an authoritative position, comparable with that of St. Paul's own writings; and it *was* from writings, not from any other channel, that the freshest and purest supplies of the apostolic spirit and teaching were to be derived. Plainly a great change—a change implying a considerable interval of time—had passed over the Church since Hebrews was written. On the other hand, if it was written after the fall of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> it cannot have been written very soon after it; there must have been time for the Jewish spirit to rally from the blow, and to resume an aggressive attitude towards the Church, if not yet towards the Empire.

The alternative dates then of this group of writings are fixed within tolerably narrow limits: they either fall within the years 63-70 or (approximately) 80-85. It seems on the whole easier to refer them to the earlier period. If so, it will be almost certain that the Pastoral Epistles are in the fullest sense genuine; it will be certain, at the very least, that they were written by some one who knew the facts of the close of the Apostle's life, so that the references to

<sup>1</sup> The strongest argument from the mere language of the Epistle for its priority to that event is x. 2. Not much can be made of the argument, that the *Temple* services must have been going on, because the *Tabernacle* services are spoken of in the present tense. But can we fancy a Christian arguing after midsummer A.D. 70, "The Jewish sacrifices are ineffectual because they *do not* cease," instead of the equally relevant argument, "The Jewish sacrifices *have ceased*, which they could not, until superseded by a more effectual sacrifice"? Here again the argument in the text would apply: if written after the fall of the Temple, the passage cannot have been written *soon* after it.



these, and the reproduction of his sentiments, would be at least as authentic as the account of the death of Socrates in the *Phædo*. The Acts, too, will gain in historical value, if we regard it not only as in its actual state the work of a companion of the Apostle, but as written by him while his memory of the events was yet fresh. But as to Hebrews alone we learn nothing—except to remember that, at the time when the Pastoral Epistles were written, St. Paul had several associates whom we never hear of before. It is true he was then (Tit. iii. 13) in communication with Apollos; but who shall say that Zenas the lawyer was not, equally with him, “mighty in the Scriptures”?—he *may* have been, like him, “an eloquent man, an Alexandrian by birth” or education. Or, if the Apostles committed to Linus the government of the Church of Rome, he *may* have been a man whose intellectual and spiritual gifts were equal to the composition of this Epistle. If our inquiry has given us a true glimpse into the sub-Apostolic circle, the glimpse is one tantalising rather than satisfying. We not only say with Origen, “As to who was the writer of this Epistle, God only knows the truth,” but with the Son of Sirach, “All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times. There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there be, which have no memorial; who are perished, as though they had never been.” Only of those whose writings have reached us, even without their names, we may add, “These were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant. . . . Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore. The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth their praise” (Ecclus. xlv. 8–15).

WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX.

## WISDOM PERSONIFIED, AND LOVE INCARNATE.

IT is not my purpose to discuss the large subject of "Wisdom" in the Hebrew literature. This has been already done in *THE EXPOSITOR* by one well competent for the task (see articles by Dr. Davidson in the year 1880). My purpose is to call attention to a sadly common perversion of part of the noble passage in the opening of the book of Proverbs—an abuse of Scripture which has done and is doing incalculable mischief. It has long been a commonplace of popular evangelical exposition, that "Wisdom" in the book of Proverbs is Christ. The ground of this belief is the unquestionable fact that the greater part of the utterances of "Wisdom" in the Proverbs, especially in the 8th chapter, would come appropriately from the lips of Christ, and some of them are striking anticipations of His gracious invitations and promises.<sup>1</sup> This is just what we should expect. Wisdom is one of the Divine attributes; and Christ "is of God made unto us wisdom," as well as "righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." We may surely expect, then, that up to a certain point the utterances of Wisdom and of Christ would coincide; so that in these passages in the book of Proverbs we should be able to find, as we find throughout the whole of the Old Testament, some portion of "the testimony of Jesus." But does it follow that because some, or even many, of Wisdom's utterances may be correctly spoken of as the words of Christ Himself, therefore all of them may be so regarded? To see how utterly foolish is this way of reasoning, we have only to remember how many of David's words not only coincide with those of Christ, but are actually quoted in the New

<sup>1</sup> There is, however, a difference even here. For example, take that favourite text, "I love them that love Me." How far short does it come of the grace of the Gospel, in which "God commendeth His love towards us, in that, *while we were yet sinners*, Christ died for us"! The order of grace is not, "I love them that love Me," but, "We love Him, who first loved us."

Testament as if Christ Himself had uttered them ; and yet no one is so foolish as to insist that all the words of David can be safely put into the mouth of Christ. Suppose, for example, that some one should quote David's dying curse upon his enemies as the words of Christ, who would not resent it as a slander on Him whose dying word for His enemies was, " Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do " ? And yet it could be justified on precisely the same principles on which so many put into the mouth of Christ these awful words : " I also will laugh at your calamity ; I will mock when your fear cometh ; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind ; when distress and anguish cometh upon you. Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer ; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me."

I have been moved to write on this subject by a recent sad experience. An earnest Christian lady, visiting an infirmary, found an old sinner in a very anxious and penitent state of mind. She pointed him to Christ, and told him the Gospel of free grace and dying love. He listened with deep earnestness and great interest ; and then dashed her hopes by telling her sadly that the Gospel was not for him. Asked why he said so, he turned to the 1st chapter of Proverbs, and read the awful sentences we have just quoted. She tried her best to point him to other passages ; but he could not get beyond this one, which seemed so utterly to close the door of hope. The visitor reported the case to her minister. He pointed out to her that these were not the words of Christ, but of Wisdom ; that if there were nothing but wisdom in God, there could be no hope for sinners ; but that " God is Love," that that love has found expression in the gift of His Son Christ Jesus, and that though sinners could not find salvation in any words of Wisdom, they could find all they need in Christ, who can and will " save them to the uttermost that

come unto God by Him." She went back joyfully with her message, delivered it to the sick man, with the result that his face lighted up, and he seemed about to find what he was seeking, when a man lying on the next bed interposed. He had been a local preacher, and had no doubt often preached fiery discourses on these awful words. He told the poor old man that the visitor was all wrong, that all who understood their Bibles knew that "Wisdom" was Christ, and in proof of it triumphantly pointed to some of those sayings in the 8th chapter which read like words of Christ. The result was, that the old despair came back into the poor man's face; and the visitor surrendered too, and to this day feels constrained to treat this passage as an inspired declaration that there are circumstances under which the Lord Jesus Christ laughs at calamity and mocks at prayer!

This is no solitary case. It is a familiar experience, especially in dealing with the comparatively uneducated. And, besides the injury done to anxious souls, no one can tell how many have been driven into infidelity by the unwarrantable liberty which so many good people allow themselves with this passage of Scripture, when they take out the word "Wisdom," and put in the word "Christ" or the word "God." Is it any wonder that those who know not the truth should say, "Better no God at all than one who would laugh at the calamities of His children, and mock them when in agony they pray to Him"?

It does seem, then, of the utmost importance that this passage should be expounded; and it is in the hope of inducing the readers of *THE EXPOSITOR* to do what they can to dispel the popular misunderstanding on the subject, that I avail myself of the opportunity of showing, in as clear a light as possible, wherein the words of Wisdom coincide with those of Christ, and wherein they do not.

As we said at the beginning, wisdom is one of the attri-



butes of God; and therefore the words of Wisdom must be, up to a certain point, the expression of the Divine mind. We may say that Wisdom expresses the mind of God in creation, in providence, in the whole realm of law. And in this realm, as well as in the realm of grace, the Son of God has His place as the Revealer. As St. John sets forth in the prologue to his gospel, He is the *λόγος*, without whom nothing was made that was made; and, as St. Paul tells us, "He is before all things, and by Him all things consist" (Col. i. 17). Closely parallel with this we have the remarkable passage in the 8th chapter of Proverbs, beginning, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old" (see the whole passage, vv. 22-31). We may then regard Christ and Wisdom as identical *throughout the realm of natural law*; so that no error would result from the substitution of the one for the other within that range of truth; but when we leave the realm of law and enter that of grace, it is entirely different; then it may not only be injurious but fatal to take the utterances of mere wisdom, and put them into the mouth of Christ. If Christ had been only wisdom, He could not have heard the sinner's prayer. But He is also "righteousness and sanctification and redemption"; and that makes all the difference, for now that He has made an atonement for our sins and opened up the way of life, He can speak, not only in the name of wisdom, but of pardoning mercy and redeeming grace; and, accordingly, far from laughing at calamity and scorning the penitent's prayer, which wisdom if it were alone might do, He can, and will, and does "save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him."

Having thus considered the extent to which we may expect to find "the testimony of Jesus" in the words of Wisdom, let us now test the principle we have laid down by an examination of the passage. The paragraph begins with this bold and striking personification: "Wisdom

crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets: she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates: in the city she uttereth her words, saying"—and then follows the passage with which we have mainly to do. Let us then listen to Wisdom's cry, and observe how truthfully and powerfully it is translated into the language of men. We shall see its truth to nature better if we first look back a little. She begins, not with a cry, but with tender words of counsel and of promise (*vv.* 8, 9), "My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother: for they shall be an ornament of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy neck." These are the tender and kindly words of counsel in which she addresses the young man setting out in life. Following this are tender and yet solemn words of warning against the tempter whom every one must meet (*v.* 10): "My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not," and so on. But now time passes on, and Wisdom's *protégé* begins to go astray, to forget the instruction of the father and the loving law of the mother; and so now she lifts up her voice and cries, entreating the wanderer to turn before it is too late (*vv.* 22, 23).

Time passes on, and the warning cry has been as little heeded as had been the tender voice of Wisdom at the first. The son, instead of being prudent, has been rash; he has been, not economical, but extravagant; not temperate, but dissipated; and so he has gone on till his last opportunity has been thrown away, his patrimony squandered, his health gone, his last friend lost. Then, once more his early monitor appears. The prodigal remembers the tender words of counsel and of promise. He remembers the solemn and kindly warnings against evil ways. He remembers how, when he was just beginning to go astray, before he had become hopelessly entangled in evil, Wisdom lifted up her voice and *cried*. For a long time his old counsellor

has not been present to his mind at all. He has been hurrying on in courses of evil, but now his very wretchedness forces him to stop and think. And, again, there stands Wisdom before him. How does she address him now? Does she speak to him in soothing tones? Does she promise to restore him his money, or his health, or his friends? Alas, no: she cannot. All she can say is, "I told you it would be so. I warned you what would be the end; and now the end has come. You must eat the fruit of your own ways, and be filled with your own devices." That is positively all that Wisdom can say; and there is no tenderness in her tone. She seems to mock him rather, she seems to laugh at his calamity. It is, in fact, the old story of Wisdom come back as a spectre of Remorse, tossing her snaky head, shaking her bony fingers, flashing her scornful eyes, and muttering, "Ye set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof: I also shall laugh at your calamity; I shall mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind, when distress and anguish cometh upon you."

Is it of any use to call upon Wisdom now? Had she been invoked in time, she would have responded as she always does to those who seek her early in life. But will she respond, can she respond, now that life's opportunity is used up, and its prospects utterly blighted? Alas! no. She can only upbraid; she cannot help. They may call upon her now, but she will not, for she cannot, answer; they may seek her now both early and late, but they cannot find her. There is no place of repentance, however carefully they seek it with tears. Such is the voice of Wisdom in the end to those who have despised her counsel in the beginning. And is not the whole representation true to nature? Is it not patent to every intelligent observer of men and things? Yes, it is perfectly true that "Wisdom

crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets," and says these very things so loudly that no listening ear can fail to hear them. It is no matter of deep philosophy. It is no ecclesiastical or theological dogma. It belongs to *the Proverbs*, the proverbs of the streets. One does not need to go to church to learn these commonplaces of universal common sense. The merit of Solomon, in this chapter, is not in telling us something we should not otherwise have known; but in putting what everybody knows in a very striking form. The object of the passage is, to bring a strong pressure to bear, specially upon the young, to listen to the voice of Wisdom, while yet her tones are tender and full of promise, before the awful time come when the voice of grave and kindly monition has been altered into tones of bitter mockery and scorn. I question whether in all literature there can be found any more vivid and alarming description of the terror and despair of a remorseful conscience, as it looks back and recalls, when too late, the neglected counsels alike of earthly and of heavenly wisdom.

So far *Wisdom*; and if it were only with her that sinners had to do, it would go hard, not only with the profligate and openly vicious, but with the most respectable. But He with whom we have to do is not known as wisdom. He is wise indeed; and all wisdom is from Him. But there is that in Him which is higher than wisdom. "God is Love." Wisdom is the expression of His will in the realm of law; but love is the expression of Himself. From His works in creation and in providence we can get glimpses of His attributes; but when we wish to know HIM, we must look into the face of Jesus Christ, who is not only Wisdom personified but Love Incarnate, and as such "the image of the invisible God"—and His word is, "Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out." True indeed, He is too wise to receive sinners into favour without genuine repentance. He could say and often did say the severest things



in condemnation of those who hardened their hearts against God. But He never laughed at calamity,<sup>1</sup> and never refused to hear those who called upon Him.

The love of God is not a lawless love. It is not at variance with Wisdom. The law which ordains that the sinner must eat of the fruit of his own way and be filled with his own devices, cannot be set aside by the mere emotion of compassion. Hence it was necessary, in order to redeem man from the condemnation of sin, that the Holy One of God should suffer. Hence, too, it is that, though by the suffering and death of Christ believers in Him are set free from the condemnation of sin, yet the natural consequences of the transgressions of wisdom's laws are not abolished. If health has been wasted, it will not be miraculously restored. If money has been squandered, there must be suffering from the want of it. If friends have been alienated, they must be won back by the slow process which the laws of wisdom in such cases must demand. If character has been forfeited by dishonesty or impurity, it may never be redeemed on this side the grave. The laws of wisdom are not repealed or set aside, or set at naught; they remain in force. But such has been the ingenuity, so to speak, of the Divine love, that without infringing on the proper domain of wisdom expressing itself in law, the way has been opened up for the full pardon and ultimate restoration even of those who have wandered farthest and sinned most. And accordingly, a passage like

<sup>1</sup> Those who are anxious to make out that God laughs at calamity sometimes refer to Ps. ii. 4 and Ps. xxxvii. 13, as if they expressed the same idea as in the passage before us. This is one of many instances of the danger of mistaking mere verbal coincidences for real parallels. The laughing in the second Psalm is not at calamity, but at the feeble efforts of wicked men to frustrate the Divine purposes. The kings and rulers who are laughed at are not in calamity but in the hey-day of their power, and rejoicing in the supposed success of their rebellion. So, too, in the 37th Psalm the Lord is represented as laughing, not at the calamities, or the prayers, but at the plots of the wicked—manifestly a totally different conception.

this awful one in the first chapter of the book of Proverbs, instead of obscuring the Divine love in the smallest degree, or interposing so much as a thread between the sinner and his Saviour, rather serves as a dark background on which to set forth the radiant form of the Saviour of mankind,

“Whose love appears more orient and more bright,  
Having a foil whereon to shew its light.”

The foil is inexorable Law, the god of modern infidelity, who shews no mercy. Force and Law never show mercy. They always laugh at calamity and mock when fear cometh. When fear cometh as desolation, and destruction cometh as a whirlwind, men may call aloud to the gods of unbelieving science, but they will not answer. And that wisdom which deals only with such matters as law and force, and rejects the revelation of Divine love, has no gospel for humanity. All it does is to spread a dark background which the more vividly sets off by contrast the glad tidings of a Father God, who “forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercies.”

Experience has convinced the writer that it would be too much to expect all those who have been in the habit of putting these awful words into the mouth of our Father in heaven or of His Son Christ Jesus to acknowledge that they have been wrong. But surely it should not be too much to ask even of those who are most wedded to traditional interpretations and inferences, to honour the Scriptures so far as to quote them correctly. If they will cling to the idea that when the Bible says “Wisdom” it means to say God, or Christ, then why should they change the word? If it so obviously means God in the book of Proverbs, it will have the same meaning when it is quoted. Let them tell the people that “Wisdom” says these things.

But if they take away the Bible word and put in another, are they not taking the name of the Lord their God in vain? For either "Wisdom" in the passage quoted means God, or it does not. If it does, it is not necessary to make the substitution; and surely it is a vain thing to suppose that their word is better than the word in the Bible. If it does not, as there is no evidence that it does, then in a far more serious sense it is taking God's name in vain to thrust it in. It is not as if there were not passages enough to set forth the wrath of God against sin. No man who accepts the Scriptures as from God can honestly deny that there is a terrible doom for the impenitent sinner. But it is just as plain that God "delighteth in mercy," and "doth not afflict willingly," that there is infinite sorrow in His heart at the thought of the calamities of the wicked, represented throughout the Old Testament by the most pathetic appeals, and expressed with infinite pathos in the tears of Jesus over doomed Jerusalem. Let the vengeance of God be by all means proclaimed against impenitence; but let it be distinctly known that it is the vengeance, not of cruel exultation, but of Divine sorrow and love.

J. M. GIBSON.

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## NOTES ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

(XX.—XXVIII.)

xx. 4. The historian has departed from his ordinary practice in giving this detailed enumeration of St. Paul's companions; for he rarely mentions the names of any of his fellow travellers, except where there are obvious reasons appearing in the history. Several of the persons here mentioned are otherwise known as companions, ministers, or fellow labourers of the Apostle: but their personal history in no way accounts for the insertion of this list. The necessary conclusion is that they travelled in some representative capacity on this occasion. Moreover, three of the party are mentioned in distinct connexion with particular Churches, *viz.* Aristarchus with the Thessalonian, Tychicus and Trophimus with the Asiatic Churches—a group of Churches planted in the province of Asia round Ephesus, which formed their centre. Since these three represented Churches, it is a natural inference that the rest were there in a similar capacity, but probably not in like manner special delegates of particular Churches, but commissioned by more than one. Further light is thrown on the narrative by the Epistles to the Corinthians; for we there learn that a special fund had been organized for the benefit of the Christian poor in Palestine in anticipation of this very journey to Jerusalem, that contributions were made to it by a number of Churches in Greece and Asia, and that delegates were appointed by each community to take charge of its contributions, and accompany St. Paul to Jerusalem. The subscription was first started at Ephesus, and must therefore have comprehended the Asiatic Churches: the Macedonian Churches were liberal contributors; the Corinthian Church had taken part in the collection, and the Galatians are also mentioned incidentally as sharing in the work. Furthermore, St. Paul himself refers subsequently



to the fact that he was the bearer of alms from the Gentile Christians to his nation; so that the plan sketched in his Epistles to the Corinthians must have been actually carried out (Acts xxiv. 17). We can hardly, therefore, be wrong in concluding that the names here recorded were those of the deputation from the Churches. Turning to the names themselves, we find amidst them Timothy, who has been already mentioned as engaged in some mission preparatory to this journey; and Trophimus, who reappears in Paul's company at Jerusalem. One name stands first, Sopater, a Berean Christian, son of a Berean Christian, without the name of a Church attached, and therefore apparently as head of the deputation. For St. Paul, writing from Macedonia, speaks of one brother in especial whose praise was in all the Churches and who was chosen by them to travel with him in charge of the fund; local deputies from the Macedonian Churches are also mentioned in the same passage (2 Cor. viii. 18-24). On examining the details of the narrative it appears that the party included two divisions, which met at Troas and proceeded thence together to Jerusalem. The larger section accompanied Paul to Asia, the smaller arrived at Troas before the rest,<sup>1</sup> and were there waiting (ἔμενον) for the arrival of the larger body from Greece. It is important for the right understanding of the passage to note the antithesis between ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας and Ἀσιανοὶ δέ, by which it is intimated that Sopater, Aristarchus, . . . and Timothy *accompanied Paul from Greece to Asia; but as for those of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus, they had gone before, and were tarrying for us at Troas.* It is not, of course, implied by ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας that the first party went no farther; for all went together to Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I assume the correctness of the reading *προελθύντες*, which has good authority and agrees perfectly with the context, rather than *προσελθύντες*.

<sup>2</sup> The words *ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας* are omitted by some MSS., probably from this very misunderstanding of their true meaning; which is also encouraged by the translation of the Revised Version, "*as far as to Asia.*"

but merely that the Asiatic deputies did not join them before Troas. As Paul had determined not to touch at Ephesus, these went to Troas, as the appointed place of meeting.

xx. 18. The Revised Version has altered the rendering *I came into Asia*, making the clause to run *I set foot in Asia*; but ἐπέβην εἰς means rather *I embarked for Asia*, according to the usual sense of ἐπιβαίνειν, to mount horse or carriage, or to embark in a ship. St. Paul's first visit to the Roman province of Asia was when he crossed the Ægean Sea from Corinth to Ephesus, and was entreated to preach the gospel there.

xx. 25, 38. There is an unfortunate ambiguity in the translation of οὐκέτι in both these verses: for the expression "*see my face no more*" is habitually taken by English readers as signifying a presentiment on the part of the Apostle that he would never return to Ephesus, whereas the language of 2 Tim. iv. 13, 20 gives reason to conclude that he did revisit Ephesus some years later, after his first imprisonment at Rome. But οὐκέτι means simply that he was not intending to remain any longer in those parts. Whereas he had spent some six years on the coasts of the Ægean Sea, either at Ephesus or within easy reach of it, he was now undertaking a perilous mission to Jerusalem, with the full intention of travelling thence to Rome and the far West, and carrying the gospel to the ends of the world. With this prospect before him he tells the elders of Ephesus that they were all *to see his face no longer*, and takes an affectionate farewell of his disciples in those parts. But he intimates no inward presentiment that they would never meet again on earth.

xxi. 1. The graphic force of ἀποσπασθέντας is not reproduced in the English, *we were gotten (parted) from them*: it was only by a great wrench that they *tore themselves away from* the Ephesian Christians. The expression ἐγένετο

*ἀναχθῆναι* also indicates that delay was occasioned by the protracted farewells before they succeeded in getting to sea.

xxi. 3. I do not understand why the Revised Version has banished the expressive and appropriate term *discovered*, used here to render *ἀναφάναντες* in the old English sense of *sighting* Cyprus. In crossing the Levant from Patara to Tyre the special landmark for which the steersman would keep a lookout was the south-western coast of Cyprus, that he might leave it safely on the left hand.

xxi. 4. The Revised Version has very properly corrected *ἀναβαλεῖν*, *go up*, into *ἐπιβαλεῖν*: but has again (as in xx. 18) wrongly translated it *set foot*, whereas it means *to embark for Jerusalem*. The intention of the party was to embark again as soon as the cargo was unloaded, and proceed by sea to Ptolemais, on the way to Jerusalem; this they were warned not to do, but carried out their intention in defiance of the warning.

xxi. 5. The circumstances of themselves suggest that the clause *when we had accomplished the days* must be an incorrect translation; for it was not the passengers who had work to accomplish at Tyre, but the unloading and refitting of the ship for her further voyage which occasioned the delay. The word *ἐξαρτίσαι* also is a technical term for equipping a vessel. Seven days were required for this process; and *when* (says the narrative) *the (seven) days had refitted us* (i.e. our vessel), *we departed*.

xxi. 11. The prophecy of Agabus runs in the Greek text, "*So shall the Jews bind at Jerusalem*," whereas our Versions make it "*So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind*." The danger was distinctly localized and limited to the city of Jerusalem, whereas the power of the Jerusalem authorities extended throughout, and even beyond, Palestine.

xxi. 13. The expression here adopted, *to break mine heart*, points to the sorrow produced by excessive tears; but the Greek word *θρύπτειν* describes the effect of effeminate

habits upon manly spirit. The Apostle is appealing to his companions not to help by their tears and entreaties to *break down* his resolution, as so many had already sought to do by their prophecies of coming danger.

xxi. 15. The margin of the Revised Version gives obviously the correct rendering of ἐπισκευασάμενοι, *we made ready our baggage*. It is the regular Greek term to denote packing baggage in preparation for a journey.

xxi. 16. I see no reason for the forced and unnatural rendering of the last clause, "*bringing with them one Mnason, with whom we should lodge,*" when a much simpler and easier offers itself, "*conducting us to the house of one Mnason, with whom we should lodge.*" Furthermore, if Mnason was at Cæsarea, why was he brought at the last moment instead of coming himself to invite his guests? But the most natural explanation of the circumstances is that he was at home at Jerusalem, that Paul and his company had tarried several days at Cæsarea for the express purpose of receiving an answer from Jerusalem as to where they could be received, and that mutual friends went with them from Cæsarea to escort them to the house of Mnason.

xxi. 20. As this verse stands in the Authorised Version the believing Jews only are mentioned, and the next two verses must apply to them. But this is hardly possible; it is clearly not the believers, but the unbelieving Jews, whose zeal was dreaded by the Christian elders; they it was who had heard false reports of Paul's preaching, and were likely to hear of his coming, and gather together a mob against him. Hence the value of the correction ἐν τ. 'Ιουδαίοις adopted by the Revised Version instead of 'Ιουδαίων, which brings into notice not only the Christian believers, but also the Jews amidst whom they dwelt.

xxi. 24. Nothing is said in the Greek about *walking orderly*, nor was any charge of disorderly conduct brought against Paul until the Jews preferred it, as was natural,



before the Roman authorities. *στοιχεῖς* means simply *walking*, the context denoting the character of the walk. In this case the participle *φυλάσσω* defines it as a life marked by due observance of the law.

xxi. 26. It appears from a comparison of this verse and the next that the fulfilment of this vow required a daily appearance in the temple during the seven days, and that the Apostle so entered into the temple for the purpose of publishing it (*διαγγέλλων*) every day until the final offering was offered.

xxii. 13. The force of Ananias' command to Saul, *ἀνάβλεψον*, is imperfectly rendered in English by "*receive thy sight*," for it conveys in one word the command to look up, and the promise that he should recover his sight. In like manner *ἀνέβλεψα* declares at once his effort of faith in looking up, and the gift of restored sight by which God responded to his faith; for as he looked up, he saw again. He was not a mere passive recipient of the gift of God, but was first summoned in his blindness to perform an act of faith, which was thereupon rewarded by the recovery of sight.

xxii. 15. This verse is closely connected with *φώνην* in the previous verse, *ὅτι* denoting what the voice was to tell him. "*The God of our fathers foreordained thee . . . to hear a voice from His mouth telling thee that thou shalt be a witness . . .*" In accordance with this declaration of Ananias it is recorded in v. 21 that Christ said to Paul, "I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." *ὅτι* can only be rendered "*for*," when *for* is used in a strictly causal sense. The character of the utterance he was to hear was an essential part of Ananias' revelation to Saul; the mere fact of a voice alone would convey little comfort.

xxii. 20. If the Apostle designed to express the physical effect of death by stoning, he would not have used the word *ἐξεχύνετο*, which signifies, not that Stephen's blood was

shed, but that it was poured forth. The phrase is not used elsewhere with reference to the shedding of blood in death, but to the pouring forth of the blood of the slain victim at the altar. Our Lord had regard to this sacrificial force when He connected the pouring forth of His own blood with the sacramental cup (Luke xxii. 20); and in this place St. Paul regards the death of Stephen as the sacrifice of a holy life at the altar of Christian faith.

The term *consenting*, which has been adopted in our versions here and at viii. 1 to designate Saul's participation in the death of Stephen, is not forcible enough to render the Greek *συνευδοκεῖν*, or to represent the actual facts of the case. He manifested his entire satisfaction in the deed of blood by keeping the clothes of those who stoned Stephen as an active and eager partisan; and he did not disguise his participation in their guilt. *συνευδοκεῖν* denotes hearty approval.

xxii. 29. The two last clauses of this verse, both beginning with *ὅτι*, depend on *ἐπιγινούς*; the first must not be rendered *that*, the second *because*, as is done in our versions. *The chief captain was alarmed when he knew that he was a Roman, and that he had bound him.* Until he learned that Paul was a Roman citizen, he did not know the true nature of his act in having bound him.

xxiii. 5. If the speech of Paul were correctly rendered by the version, "*I wist not that he was the high priest*," it would imply that, though he had perceived the speaker, he nevertheless was not aware that he was the high priest. But it was impossible that Saul, a former member of the Sanhedrim, could fail to recognise the high priest, who sat in his robes as ex-officio president. A more correct translation however, *I wist not that it was the high priest* (who spoke) allows a simple explanation of his speech, that he had heard the words, but did not know from whom the voice proceeded.

xxiii. 9. The language of the Pharisaic partisans here reported throws light on the nature of St. Paul's previous defence, of which only a few words are recorded, and illustrates the manner in which he had introduced the question of the resurrection which appealed so forcibly to the sympathies of Pharisees. *What, they pleaded, if a spirit spake (not hath spoken) to him.* Evidently he had been pleading that day, as he had done the day before, that he had simply obeyed the commands of his risen Lord, which he heard outside Damascus, or in Jerusalem; and they, though denying Jesus' resurrection, caught eagerly at this emphatic assertion of a voice from the unseen world, and suggested that the voice he had so distinctly heard was perhaps an actual voice of spirit or angel.

xxiii. 20. There are two alternative readings in this verse, ὥς μέλλοντες and ὥς μέλλων. The Authorised Version has adopted the first, which is of inferior authority, and by rendering it "*as though they would inquire,*" has expressed the false pretence of the Jews that they desired further inquiry into Paul's case. But the similar translation of ὥς μέλλων in the Revised Version attributes to the chief captain the same pretence, as though he had been a party to the plot. The words ὥς μέλλων express their plan clearly enough, *viz.* to induce the chief captain to bring Paul down *in the hope of learning something more exact concerning him.*

xxiv. 2. The reading κατορθωμάτων means *successes* rather than *very worthy deeds*, as rendered in the Authorised Version. But the preamble of Tertullus becomes more appropriate when διορθωμάτων is read, as in the Revised Version, *evils are corrected.* For the professed object of the deputation was to ask redress for a grievance, and urge correction of an abuse fatal to public order as well as religion.

xxiv. 16. Our versions begin this verse *herein*, that is to say, *in this hope*, as though the Greek had been ἐν ταύτῃ.

But ἐν τούτῳ must signify *meanwhile*, that is, during this earthly life in which I am awaiting the realization of my hope. The verse passes from a profession of faith and declaration of Christian hope to a defence of his conscientious life since his conversion, καὶ αὐτός marking the transition from the general hope of Israel to his own personal conduct: *meanwhile I for my part also make it my practice.*

xxiv. 23. The word τηρεῖσθαι denotes of itself a considerable mitigation in the character of St. Paul's imprisonment, being expressive of a mere detention under supervision. But Felix ordered besides that he should have further indulgence granted him (ἄνεσιν), especially in regard to the free intercourse allowed him with his friends.

xxiv. 24. *Felix came with his own wife.* The word *own* is inserted with evident intention, though omitted in our versions. Some suppose that the narrative dwells on the fact on account of the scandal created by the marriage of a Jewess to the Roman Felix. A much more natural explanation of its addition is the desire of the historian to indicate the private and unofficial character of this audience in contrast to the preceding formal trial of the case. Felix manifested his friendly feeling apparently in order to encourage the offer of a bribe and to induce negotiations on the part of the prisoner.

xxv. 10. According to our versions Paul accuses the procurator of wilful injustice in the words "*as thou very well knowest.*" Under the circumstances such language would be wantonly discourteous, if not insolent; the Greek text by no means bears out such an imputation, for the present tense ἐπιγινώσκεις cannot mean *thou knowest*, and κάλλιον is properly a comparative. He meant by it probably that even Festus, stranger as he was to Jewish questions, was beginning, since he had heard the defence, to understand better than before the innocence of the prisoner, and that



the hearing of the case was opening his eyes to its true character.

xxv. 11. *παραιτοῦμαι* denoted an attempt to deprecate anger, and avert punishment by entreaty; it was therefore often used of the cowardly excuses by which men evade unwelcome duties (Luke xiv. 18). Here the Apostle protests that he has no unmanly fear of death: "If guilty, I do not shrink from dying"; but he protests against any man *giving away* (*χαρίζεσθαι*) his life or liberty as a means of courting popularity with Jewish partisans. The same invidious sense of sacrificing justice to favour belongs to *χαρίζεσθαι* in v. 16.

xxv. 22. The force of *καὶ αὐτός* joined to *ἐβουλόμην* is not so well rendered in our versions as it would be by literal translation, *I was wishing even of myself*. Agrippa replied to the request of Festus, that he had been desirous of himself, apart from this application of his, to hear Paul speak and form his own opinion of the man.

xxvi. 3. The transposition of the word *especially* from the middle of the sentence, which is its proper place, to the beginning gives a false colour to the preamble of the Apostle's speech, and makes it savour of personal flattery to Agrippa. He does not simply and unreservedly express his satisfaction at having Agrippa for his judge, but assigns definite ground for this: *because thou art especially expert*. It was true and fitting cause for satisfaction that his hearer was well acquainted with Jewish doctrine and practice, which the Roman governor was not. In like manner he had expressed his satisfaction at the experience of Felix.

xxvi. 16. The actual appointment of St. Paul to a Christian ministry and apostleship can hardly have taken place before his entrance into Damascus, as is implied in our versions: *I have appeared unto thee to make (appoint) thee a minister and witness*. . . . Three days of darkness and penitence were to elapse before he was admitted

to baptism; and his full apostolic commission was more distant still. *προχειρίσασθαι*, *to foreordain*, expresses a future purpose, not an immediate appointment.

If the text adopted in the Revised Version, *ὧν τε εἶδες με*, be correct, I should translate it, *a witness both of the things which thou hast seen, and of those which thou shalt see me ordain*, *ὧν* being equivalent to *τούτων* ᾧ, and ᾧ being governed by a participle understood from the preceding verb.

xxvi. 17. If we compare the language of this verse, *delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles*, with the other utterances ascribed to the Lord in the various narratives of Saul's conversion, a strange difference appears in its whole purport. There is nothing said in them about deliverance; on the contrary, they distinctly reveal future suffering. It was said to Ananias, "I will show him how great things he must suffer for My name's sake" (ix. 16). This difference is the more remarkable because the speech which is here related was not, as may be seen by comparison of the narratives in ix. 4-6 and xxii. 6-10, an independent revelation made to Saul outside Damascus, but a condensation of the successive revelations to Saul and Ananias during the three days. Again, the promise of deliverance was not suitable to the existing circumstances and feelings of Saul; no outward persecution was threatening him as yet; the only deliverance he craved was from an accusing conscience. Furthermore, it is historically untrue that he was so delivered; for his life was a prolonged series of continual persecutions ending in martyrdom; his only effectual deliverance from the unrelenting enmity of his persecutors came in the shape of a violent death. But when the Greek text is examined, the idea of deliverance disappears altogether: it exists only in the English Version. For though *ἐξαίρεισθαι* does sometimes mean *to deliver* (vii. 10, 34; xxiii. 27), it would require the insertion of *ἐκ χειρός*,

as in xii. 11, to express deliverance from a person or a people. This passage is supposed to be borrowed from 1 Chronicles xvi. 35; but in that place ἐξελοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν means *deliver us from among the Gentiles*, as appears from the context and from the parallel passage in Psalm cv. (cvi.) 47, where ἐπισυνάγαγε is employed instead of ἐξελοῦ. In this verse it should be rendered *choosing thee out of the people*. This correction restores perfect harmony between the different utterances of this season, for the Lord spake in the same sense to Ananias: "he is a chosen vessel unto Me, to bear My name before the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel" (ix. 15). This special election, by which God had singled him out for his apostolic work, is repeatedly asserted by St. Paul on other occasions, and is as appropriate to his present address as the topic of deliverance is unsuited to it.

xxvi. 18. The addition of αὐτούς to the next infinitive τοῦ λαβεῖν indicates that ἐπιστρέψαι should be rendered transitively *to turn them*, as in the Authorised Version. The use of the word ἐξαγαγεῖν in the parallel passage of Isaiah (xlii. 7), of which this is a reminiscence, leads to the same conclusion. It brings into prominence the Apostle's personal work, as it does in Luke i. 16, 17, that of John the Baptist. In the figurative language adopted from Isaiah, it is foretold that he is to change the doom of prisoners from the darkness of the dungeon and the tyranny of Satan to the light and liberty of God's kingdom.

xxvi. 20. The English Version *shewed* (*declared*) imperfectly renders ἀπήγγελλον. It intimates that Paul bore the message of Christ revealed to him by the heavenly vision, and in obedience to it announced to Jews and Gentiles the duty of repentance.

xxvi. 23. This verse argues the identity of the gospel which Paul preached with the language both of the prophets and of Moses, *since*, according to them, *the Christ*

was to be liable to suffering, and was to be the first after resurrection from the dead to proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles.

In this argumentative use of *εἰ*, propositions are assumed to be true; and it is argued that if they are true, as they are, certain results follow. It may therefore be properly rendered in English by *since*.

xxvi. 26. It is better to render *πρὸς ὃν*, unto whom (as in the Revised Version) than *before whom*; this agrees with the change of character in the speech: for it becomes at this point a personal appeal to King Agrippa, to whom Paul addresses himself with outspoken plainness (*παρρησιαζόμενος*).

*πείθομαι*, I persuade myself (not *I am persuaded*), indicates his rising hope of the king's intelligent sympathy; and the subsequent language of Agrippa himself in *v.* 32. bespeaks an attentive listener, though the derisive tone of *v.* 28 tells how remote was the prospect of his conversion.

xxvi. 28. The translation of Agrippa's words in the Authorised Version, *Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian*, has produced the pleasant illusion that he was half converted. But *πείθεις* does not indicate success in persuading, but simply the attempt. *Christian* in his mouth was a contemptuous byword, applied by unbelievers to the followers of a pretended Christ, and betrays the ironical tone of his reply to Paul's enthusiastic appeal. The reply of Paul fixes exactly the meaning of *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, for it gives as its antithesis *καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ*; therefore the substantive to be supplied in thought must be, not *λόγῳ*, nor *ἔργῳ*, nor *χρόνῳ*, for none of these could be inserted after *μεγάλῳ*, but *πόνῳ*. *I would to God*, says Paul, *that whether with small pains or with great, not thou only, but also all that hear me, might this day become such as I am*. For the king had said in mockery, *With small pains dost thou hope to persuade me*.



xxvii. 4-8. The local conditions of the voyage from Sidon are graphically detailed. *ὑπεπλεύσαμεν*, *we sailed under the lee of Cyprus*, says the narrative. By this means they gained some shelter from the N.W. winds which prevail so constantly in the Levant throughout the summer. They next crossed the open sea (*πέλαγος*) to Myra, and worked westwards along the coasts of Lycia and Caria as far as the promontory of Cnidus. Up to this point the highlands of Asia Minor afforded some continuous shelter, but they were afterwards exposed to the full force of the N.W. wind; and this *not suffering them to make way on-wards* (*μὴ προσεῶντος*) to the west, they ran south till they got under the lee of Crete, off Salmone, and crept with difficulty along its eastern and southern coasts as far as Fair Havens, where the coast again trends to the north-west, and the wind precluded farther progress.

xxvii. 12. Phoenix is described as looking down the south-west and north-west winds, *i.e.* in the direction that they blow. The harbour therefore faced away from these quarters, and was sheltered from them by the land.

xxvii. 15. *συναρπασθέντος* signifies not merely that the ship was *caught*, but that it was hurried out to sea by the violence of the sudden squall.

xxvii. 17. *χαλάσαντες*, *loosening*, cannot but signify some partial unfurling of their canvas, not *they strake sail*, or *lowered the gear*. The circumstances point distinctly to the spread of some fresh sail; for whereas they had been content at first simply to drive (*ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα*) before the N.E. wind (*Euraquilo*), they were afraid to continue longer on this course, lest they should be cast upon the Syrtis, and accordingly let out enough sail to keep the head of the vessel off the African coast, and drove in this way (*οὕτως*), *i.e.* with some sail spread, instead of yielding helplessly to the wind.

xxvii. 20. *λοιπόν* is omitted in our versions; it means

probably (for the rest of the time), *i.e.* afterwards, or henceforth, as in 2 Timothy iv. 8. The imperfect περιηρείτο describes the gradual extinction of all hope, as the crew settled down into the apathy of fatigue and despair.

xxvii. 33. ἄχρι does not mean *while*, but *until* some definite limit. *Until the day was on the point of coming Paul kept beseeching them to take food.* As it drew towards daybreak he desisted, for the time had then come to prepare for action.

προσδοκῶντες requires an accusative or object clause, expressed or implied, therefore ἡμέραν should be coupled with it. *The day that you are awaiting makes now the fourteenth that ye continue fasting.*

xxvii. 39. αἰγιαλόν denotes a sloping *beach on to which they planned, if it were possible, to drive up the ship.* All the circumstances point to ἐξῶσαι rather than ἐκσῶσαι. The object was clearly not to save the ship, but to strand it as high as possible on a lee shore in order to effect the escape of the passengers and crew, and there abandon it.

xxvii. 41. The oldest MSS. agree in reading ἐλύετο ὑπο τῆς βίας without τῶν κυμάτων, which seems to have been added in the margin originally as a conjectural explanation. τῆς βίας refers apparently to the violence of the shock when the vessel struck, rather than to the subsequent effect of the waves, of which there has been no mention. Strained as it had been by the long storm, and only held together by ropes, the stern began at once to part asunder as soon as it struck.

xxviii. 2. The Greeks designated all who spoke a foreign language as βάρβαροι; for this reason the name is given to the people of Melita, who probably spoke the Carthaginian language; but it is not thereby implied that they were uncivilised. *Foreigners* would be a more correct English equivalent than *barbarians* or *barbarous people*.

xxviii. 3. The Authorised Version is clearly mistaken in

giving to θερμης a local meaning ; the preposition ἀπό is causal and assigns the heat as the immediate occasion of the event, while ἐξ- or διεξ- (for there are both readings) in composition with ἐλθοῦσα defines the locality : the viper glided out of the bundle between the sticks in consequence of the heat.

xxviii. 13. The nature of the coasting voyage from Syracuse to Rhegium makes περιελθόντες, *we fetched a compass*, very inappropriate, unless it had been added that the winds were adverse ; whereas περιελόντες, *we cast loose*, (as proposed in the margin of the Revised Version), is a most natural description.

xxviii. 17. It was not in accordance with the principles of St. Paul to call together only *the chief of the Jews* (as stated in our versions), and exclude the body of the people ; nor would τ. ὄντας τ. Ἰουδαίων πρώτους be a natural way of expressing such a course. It was his habitual practice to address himself to the Jews first, and then to the Gentiles ; and he followed this plan at Rome, calling together *those that were of the Jews*, i.e. Jews and proselytes, *first*. They came to him again in larger number (πλείονες, v. 23), and the opposition he then encountered drove him to appeal to the Gentiles.

xxviii. 24. It is not stated that *some believed*, for the Greek is ἐπίθοντο, not ἐπίστευον. Had some believed, the Apostle might have been encouraged to go on ; but while *some listened*, others set themselves so stubbornly against the faith that he found it expedient, as he had done in Asia and Greece, to address himself directly to the Gentiles. Probably those who listened belonged in this case, as in that, mainly to the class of proselytes, and continued still to attend upon his teaching.

xxviii. 28. τὸ σωτήριον is not *salvation*, but *the word of salvation*, as in Isaiah lx. 6, where it follows εὐαγγελιοῦνται.

I might have added largely to this list of proposed cor-

rections, but I have carefully suppressed all that appeared doubtful or trivial. Though many are in themselves unimportant when taken alone, yet viewed as a body they effect considerable changes in the history, add to its graphic force, give greater cohesion to its parts, and bring it into more exact harmony with known circumstances, and with other records and apostolic teaching.

F. RENDALL.

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THE PENTATEUCH—EGYPTICITY AND  
AUTHENTICITY.<sup>1</sup>

THE lives of the saints are, in Egypt, called “maimers” (memoirs?), and I have read a number of them besides those of St. Joseph and St. Moses.

Between these and those I find this great difference—that, while the latter are definite, particular, and sharp-cut in their details, the former, for the most part, are indefinite, hazy, and when they condescend to particulars which can be checked by veritable history, often incorrect.

For instance, finding myself not long since wind-bound near a village on the Nile containing a Coptic church, I went up to it, and finding no audience to hear the gospel message except an impracticable priest, I spent a few hours rummaging among the old books, and especially in reading the memoirs of the saintess to whom the church was dedicated and the story of its erection by her husband, a Copt who was at the time chief secretary of the reigning sultan.

The style and internal evidences of the story all went to show that the document was written about 500 years ago, while the plot of the story was laid some 400 years further

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<sup>1</sup> I have to acknowledge the kindness of Professor Sayce in revising this paper.—ED. *Expositor*.



back, namely, at the epoch of the crusaders, and especially at the time of the taking of Damietta.

The story did not lack in striking and interesting incidents of a private and domestic nature (such as might take place anywhere and at any time); but when the events of actual history were mentioned, it was in an indefinite and hazy manner which showed that the author was not at home in this domain, and when tested by the touchstone of reliable history his facts turned out to be fictions. Thus all that a charitable critic could conclude from the narrative is that the church was probably founded about the time of the crusaders, that some loose and greatly exaggerated traditions of the event were hovering around for several centuries, until the days of Beni Assal (the golden age of Coptic ecclesiastical invention), when some unknown sat down and wove the web of the story, the warp consisting of the above-mentioned traditions, and the woof pure invention.

Not such are the stories of Joseph and Moses. I lately saw quoted a remark of Bunsen, "that reliable history commenced when Moses led the Israelites out of the land of Goshen." I think the most will agree with me in the remark that, to be reliable, especially in the sense required in our sacred books, it must be written at or near the time when the events narrated occurred.

That this was the case in reference to the Biblical narratives of the lives of Joseph and Moses I wish to contribute my mite to help to show, and that not by the many side-lights which may be focussed upon the subject, but by the one line of argument with which as an "old Egyptian" who has read the narrative pretty closely in the original, and on the spot, I ought to be somewhat conversant, *viz.* the line of local hints and linguistic usages,—in other words, the Egyptian cast and character of the narratives.

We will begin from the 39th of Genesis.

Without indorsing any of the fine-drawn theories which

have been built upon the "document hypothesis," no one who believes in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch should, I think, doubt that Moses possessed documents from which, as directed by the Holy Ghost, he compiled the history as we have it in the Book of Genesis *down to his own day*. On this supposition, which the sceptical critics would be the last to deny, may we not also build the presumption that, during the stay of Israel in Egypt, and before the nation had been reduced to the state of hopeless, abject slavery in which we find them when Moses was thrust forward by God as their deliverer,—may we not, I say, build the presumption that a memoir of Joseph would be written?

This memoir would naturally embrace the stirring and romantic events so flattering to the national pride embraced in the story of the exaltation and rule of Joseph in Egypt, and its marvellous result in preserving alive, not only the holy seed, but many others; and also sundry other matters of prime importance to the covenant people: such as the blessing of Jacob upon his sons contained in the 49th chapter of Genesis; the history of that long funeral procession from Egypt to the cave of Machpelah in Hebron; and the solemn charge and oath of Joseph narrated in the 50th chapter, when he said, "I die, and God will surely visit you and bring you out of this land unto the land which He sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob." "And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence." These records, together with his embalmed and coffined body, were doubtless sacredly preserved for the expected time of deliverance so long foretold.

Beginning with the Egyptian life of Joseph, from the 39th chapter, we have, in the first verse, an evident repetition of verse 36 of the 37th chapter, and thus a splice of the narrative. Chapter xxxviii. is evidently a previously existing document thrown in. The events narrated in it

are of so discreditable a nature to the parties concerned, that we cannot suppose that the compiler would have inserted them had he not felt that it was his duty to do so.

That chapter xxxviii. is an inserted document from a previous time is evident from chapter xli. 12. In the enumeration there given of the sons of Israel which came into Egypt with him, we have the names of Hezron and Hamul, *sons of Pharez*.

Now taking the age of Joseph as seventeen when he was sold to Egypt, the time which he spent in the house of Potiphar and in prison as thirteen years, as he was thirty when he stood before Pharaoh (xli. 46), the seven years of plenty, and the two or three of famine before Jacob came down to Egypt, there is not, we see, time for Pharez to have had children at the date of the descent into Egypt; for from chap. xxxviii. we learn that Pharez was not born till after the marriage and death of Er and Onan, his elder brothers.

If it be asked, What then shall we do with the expression, *ויהי בעת ההיא* (xxxviii. 1), *and it came to pass at that time*, we answer that it must either refer back to some former paragraph in the history, or to some document which Moses (the only redactor of primitive documents whose hand we have yet been able to see in the history up to his death) was divinely directed to omit. That there are instances of this latter we think we shall see evidence as we proceed.

We have (xxxix. 1) two Egyptian proper names, Potiphar and Pharaoh. For their explanation we will refer, as we shall often have occasion with other Egyptian words, to the able essay of Canon Cook, at the end of the *Speaker's Commentary on Exodus*, "On Egyptian Words in the Pentateuch."

We have also, in this first verse, proof that the narrative from this 39th chapter down was written, or at least collated, *after the exodus*. We have it in the expression

הוררהו שמה (brought him down thither). But in our version *brought* and *thither* do not agree. We *bring* a thing *hither* and *take* it *thither*.

The use of שמה and not לזה is proof that this verse was written outside of Egypt, and after the exodus. In chapter xxxvii. 25, the writer was in Palestine, and so he says, הולכים להוריר מצרימה (going to carry it down to Egypt), and in xlii. 2, Jacob, speaking in Palestine also, says, רדו שמה; and a little after (verse 15) Joseph says מזה and הנה (hence and hither). In chapter xlvi. 3, 4, we have the expressions רדה מצרימה and ארד עמך מצרימה (go down to Egypt); and then in verse 8, in sharp contrast, הבאים מצרימה (which came to Egypt).

A more important question, because at present a living, "burning" one, is whether, granted that the narrative was written after the exodus, it was written *soon* after, and by an author or authors acquainted with Egyptian affairs; or, several hundred years after, and by men trained among Syrian or Assyrian environments.

It is to answer this question, which has been forced upon us, as well as to contribute my mite towards the elucidation of the sacred narrative, that I have taken up my pen.

"Captain of the guard." Rather, we think, as we have it in the LXX., "head cook." The translators of the LXX. were more likely than we to know the Egyptian use of the phrase. Besides, we have evidence from other passages.

In chapter xliii. 16 we have טָבַח טָבַח (slay); but the expression as even yet used in Egypt in Arabic means more than simply to slay, *viz.* to slay and cook; that is, prepare a meal of butcher's meat. In Proverbs ix. 2 the phrase is used with the same meaning, טַבַּחַה טַבַּחַה, translated "she hath killed her beasts," which I would prefer rendering literally, "she hath cooked her cookery," *i.e.* "prepared her feast."

There are thousands of well-to-do people yet in Egypt



who only have “tabikh” when, like Joseph, they have guests; and it shows how frugally he lived, even in the height of his power, that he had to give special orders to his cook for a supper of butcher’s meat when he would entertain his brethren.

Then we have the same use of the word in the days of Samuel. 1 Sam. ix. 22, 24, “And Samuel said unto the *cook*” (לִטְבַח). “And the *cook* took up the shoulder.” And xxv. 11, “and my flesh that I have killed,” טַבַּחְתִּי אֲשֶׁר טַבַּחְתִּי. This I would translate, “my food that I have cooked.”

When we collate the passages under the verb טַבַּח and its derivatives, we see that some of them refer to the slaughtering of *men* as well as animals; but the former is evidently the secondary meaning, and the transition is easy. The butcher acquires a hardness of heart which prepares him for the office of executioner; and the butchers are always foremost in an oriental massacre of Christians by Muslims. We have had two since my residence in the East, that of Damascus, and in Egypt in the days of Arabi, besides many panics. During these the poor Christian sheep have often told me, with a shudder, how the Muslim butchers would sit in their open shops and in the streets sharpening their knives and brandishing them in their faces as they passed.

Eunuchs are not the men to be made either “chiefs of the executioners” or “commanders of the body-guard.” In voice, heart, and body they are usually very effeminate. At least we must say that “captain of the guard” is not a translation of שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים or רֶב מִבְּהִים of 2 Kings xxv. 8, and parallel passages in Jeremiah. Had Nebuzaradan been either “captain of the body-guard” or “chief of the executioners” of Nebuchadnezzar, we think it very unlikely that he would have been sent to Jerusalem on such a mission. He would have been always needed near his master; and we think it best to take the description of him as “servant

of the king of Babylon" to mean his trusted man whom he could send on a special confidential mission. Canon Cook's derivation of the name Potiphar, "devoted to the house" (*i.e.* of the king), falls in admirably with this idea.

Verse 5. The promotion of Joseph, a slave, to the post of honour and responsibility in his master's house is quite in accordance with the custom still in Egypt, **בית עבדים**. Potiphar, his master, was probably a slave and eunuch, as his name, **סריס**, implies. Khalul Aga, a black man, eunuch of the ex-khedive's mother, was, a few years ago, perhaps the most influential man in Egypt, next to the khedive. He amassed immense wealth; and I was told that, on entering a room in which the pashas, the ruling officials of the land, were, they would all rise and kiss his hand.

How light the yoke of slavery is in such cases may be shown by an illustrative example, of which I could give many. A friend of mine freed and sent away his slave, who had been acting as his major-domo. The slave begged me to intercede with his master to take him back into slavery.

One great reason of this advancement is that, being foreigners, they have no outside family connexions and ties, and so are more likely to be true to their masters. When the master dies the slave often takes his place; and thus it came to pass that Egypt for generations, up to the end of the last century, was ruled by Mamlukes, that is, slaves.

"In the house and in the field." The field, or farm, is generally distant from the house, and under separate management. It shows how implicit was the confidence of Potiphar in Joseph that he made him overseer of both house and field.

Ver. 11. **כהיום הזה**. "About this time" is not a translation of this phrase. It necessarily refers to some special day, which however is not specified in the context.

In the book at present existing among the Jews as the

Book of Jasher, the gap is most naturally filled up by a description of the annual festival still observed in Egypt in August at the rising of the Nile, when nearly the whole population go down to the river, leaving their houses; and it represents Potiphar's wife as seizing this opportunity to accomplish her purpose. Without ascribing undue authority to this so-called "Book of Jasher," might we not say that it is possible that, in this and other cases that might be pointed out, it has preserved parts of the original story, which, being irrelevant to the history of God's people, Moses was not directed to preserve?

The "tale of the two brothers," translated from the D'Orbiney papyrus of the age of Seti II. of the 19th dynasty, has been quoted as illustrating, by the similarity of expressions used, the temptation of Joseph. (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 137. 22.) The keeper of the prison turning over everything into Joseph's hand is quite Egyptian. In a land of slavery no one does anything that he can turn over into the hands of a slave.

Ver. 5. פִּתְרוֹן. Does not this word here and in ver. 8, and in the other places in which it is used, mean "revelation," rather than "interpretation"? And has it not thus its Arabic equivalent in فطر rather than فسر? The latter means "to explain"; the former (cf. Lane's Dictionary), "to cleave, split, rend," and then "to create, cause to exist," that is, to bring something into being out of nothing; and therefore the participle is one of the names of Deity as Creator; and have we not here the meaning of 2 Peter i. 20, "No prophecy of the Scripture is of any private *interpretation* (*revelation*). For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost"?

Ver. 11. כּוּס (cup). Tattam, *Coptic Lexicon*, p. 146, gives "kagi." The usual Arabic word is كاس, "kas"; but كوز "kooz," is used in Egypt.

The expressions כַּף על כַּף and בִּיר are still true to Egyptian life. The cup is a shallow one, like a saucer, and when the servant brings it *in* his hand, the master takes it *upon* his, or *vice versâ*. כַּף is also an old Egyptian word, "keb." Pierret, p. 615.

It is shown in the *Speaker's Commentary*, in opposition to the testimony of Herodotus, that the vine and wine were known in Egypt in ancient times. Not only so, but I have known this very act in Egypt, *viz.* the servant pressing the juice of the fresh grapes into a cup, and immediately giving it to his master to drink. Communion wine is also often made by soaking raisins in water over night and then expressing and straining the juice. The most esteemed Araki is also made from this juice fermented and distilled.

Ver. 16. כְּלִי חֶרֶץ. "*White* baskets" is an incorrect translation of the phrase. We have no *white* baskets in Egypt; and those on the head of the chief baker were really *red* baskets, *i.e.* baskets covered with red leather. The commentators, following the lead of Gesenius, have said they were called white because they contained "white bread made of fine flour." But the adjective is a description of the *baskets*, and not of their contents, which are described in the next verse as "all manner of baked meats for Pharaoh."

The word חֶרֶץ has not only been incorporated into the Hebrew, but also into the Arabic; and so in the Arabic translation of the Scriptures we have سلال حراري, "*selal houari*." But as our Syrian translators knew nothing of our חֶרֶץ baskets, they simply inserted the word, and in the margin gave the explanation of Gesenius. Betaking ourselves, as we often must, to the *Arabic* lexicon to find the true meaning of the Hebrew word, under حروي "*houri*," after a great variety of meanings, we find "*selal houari*" (both noun and adjective being broken plurals), with the meaning "baskets covered with red leather." This exactly



meets the case; and for confirmation I immediately rushed out to the kitchen of one of our Egyptian Pharaohs (the khedive's brother-in-law), and saw these same baskets covered with red leather (tanned sheepskins dyed red), in which the dinners were carried to the adjoining palace of the pasha, lying in one corner, and the chief of the bakers sitting in the opposite one; and when I asked him what those baskets were called, he at once answered "selal houri." I now returned to my lexicons (more ancient ones than either Hebrew or Arabic), and found in Tattam, p. 579, the Coptic *shar*, "a skin." Then going back to the *old* Egyptian, Pierret, p. 433, we have "xenru" and "xenl." The determinative and the definition "peau cuir" leave no doubt of the identity of the words.

Ver. 17. The vision which the chief baker saw in his dream is one which we often see in actual fact, even in the busy streets of Cairo, *viz.* the עור, the vultures, swooping down upon the baskets upon the heads of the chief bakers or their servants, and snatching away and eating their contents. In my youth I used to picture to myself small birds, like sparrows, alighting upon the baskets and picking at their contents.

xli. 1. נַחַל (river) is an Egyptian word, *aur*, in Coptic *eioor*. It is used only once (Dan. xii. 5, 6) for any river beside the Nile. Daniel took many words from the Assyrians among whom he lived. He took this *one* from the copy of the books of Moses which he read.

Ver. 2. פָּרוֹת. Gesenius' derivation of פָּר from פָּרָה is not satisfactory, as פָּרָה means "to bear fruit," not a yoke; nor is his suggestion of פָּרָר better, "to be borne swiftly, to run," which does not describe a characteristic of the ox. The word is probably Egyptian, though I know nothing nearer it than *mert*, "a cow." The buffalo is doubtless meant, which may be called the Egyptian kine. They are more hardy than the cow, endure the climate better, and

are not so liable to the murrain, which still makes its periodical visits to Egypt; and though their milk is not so rich as that of the cow, they give a large quantity. A peculiarity of the animal is its delight in wallowing in the water. When driven down to the river or canals to drink, it immediately plunges into the water; and in hot weather droves of them may be seen lying in the water by the hour, with only their eyes and nostrils above the surface, and these they often also plunge under to rid themselves of the plague of flies. These are doubtless the kine which Pharaoh saw, and hence the naturalness of the expression "came up out of the river."

אָרֶז (meadow). This is an acknowledged Egyptian word (cf. Pierret, pp. 45, 79). In Job viii. 11 it is used, together with two other Egyptian words, גִּמְלָה (rush) and יִנְאֶה (to grow up). Cf. Canon Cook's *Commentary in loco*. The use of גִּמְלָה, Isaiah xxxv. 7, is one of many internal indications that the "evangelical prophet" must have visited Egypt. This is the plant of which the ark of *bulrushes* was made in which Moses was entrusted to the Nile by his mother. The Egyptian words and allusions in the Book of Job are a strong presumption in favour of the opinion of many that Moses wrote or edited it while in Midian. The word is used not only as a noun, in Job viii. 11, but also as a verb, xxxix. 24, "he swalloweth the ground"; and Gesenius rightly says the bulrush is so called from its porous nature, as absorbing or drinking in moisture. Our ladies find that none of their house-plants drink in so much water.

Ver. 3. שֵׁפֶת (lip or brink). Coptic *sphotou*. Tatt., p. 487. Hieroglyphic *sept*. Pierret, p. 481.

Ver. 5. שִׁבְלִים does not mean *ears*, but *stalks*. We see this from such passages as Isa. xvii. 5 and Zech. iv. 12. Gesenius rightly renders "twig" or "branch." The Egyptian wheat often produces not only fourteen but even more twigs or stalks from one seed, which spring up from the

root at the surface of the ground, and each bears an ear. I recently pulled up from the edge of a wheat-field four plants, the smallest of which contained twenty-four and the largest forty-three stalks, each with its ear, and each of the four plants growing from a single seed. The branching root from which they spring is still called by the Arabs "kan," and the spreading of the root in the ground is called "takannen," though neither the noun nor the verb are found in the Arabic lexicons with this meaning. We must look for them in the Old Egyptian. Thus the pictures which we see in our Bible dictionaries of Egyptian wheat as containing several ears clustering around the head of one stalk are a mistake. The Arabic word still in use preserves the letter נ (nun), which in Hebrew is assimilated with the כ and represented by its Daghesch thus, שבלים, Arabic "sanbel."

Ver. 6. "Blasted." The Khamasin, or hot wind, comes in the latter part of March and April, when the wheat is in ear. It comes from the east, קדים, and usually lasts three days at a time; and when it comes a little earlier and hotter than usual it greatly damages the wheat crop, blasting and scorching the ears, as indicated by the word שרף. As Pharaoh saw in his vision, it is the ears which came up last, and are yet green and tender, which are scorched.

צבר (lay up) is in verse 49 translated "gathered." The word is used in only five other passages in the Old Testament, and is always translated "to heap up," except in Exod. viii. 14, where, when we reach the passage, we shall show that its meaning is the same.

The Arabic word صبر (sabr), singular صبرة (sabret), exactly answering to צבר, is still the word used by the Arabs in Egypt to describe the heaps of corn in the Egyptian granaries. Lane, in his Arabic Lexicon, defines it "a quantity collected together of wheat, and without being

measured or weighed, heaped up." This meaning is quite foreign to all the other meanings of *صبر*, and we have little doubt that the word is Egyptian.

G. LANSING.

### THOUGHTS.

ONE of the thoughts which continually forced themselves upon me in a too brief visit to Palestine was the unwisdom of looking for too much light to the land apart from the book of revelation. Without a vivid sense of the Scriptures as an Eastern literature, it is vain to hope for more than a certain picturesque illustration of the letter of the narratives which does not really open up any fresh depths of meaning. Conington excused himself for reading the book of nature in the light of the poets; Italy to him meant the Italy of the Latin poets, not Italy as she is in her native splendour. Whether this needed as much excuse as the prevalent externalism of literary illustrators of the Bible, may be doubted. A patient and loving study of the Hebrew Bible, from a point of view at once philological, literary, and religious, is one of the best preparations for a fruitful visit to the Holy Land. The student cannot, of course, return the same manner of man that he was; but the work of reconstituting the real physiognomy of the times of revelation must have been begun in the study. It is no recreation (in the ordinary sense of the word) to travel in the lands of the past; it is a continuation of delightful studies. Unsolved problems rise up again before us; and if they are not solved, they at least gain in distinctness and become less overpowering. "*Les grandes lignes reprentent leur juste valeur, les détails se coordonnent, les figures s'humanisent, tout ce qui semblait impossible, incroyable, ou merveilleux apparaît naturel, véridique, et accessible*" (E. M. de Vogüé). We forget the theological antitheses of the West, and read the Scriptures more as an Oriental would.

Return indeed we must to the theology in which we were bred, and whose forms of thought and speech have become our natural dialect, but we cease to be theological partisans, whether as Churchmen or as exegetes. Travel has carried on and confirmed the work



which literature began; the land and the book are henceforth in our minds united. If it is not so, at least the fault is our own, and we were not worthy of treading those "holy fields."

T. K. CHEYNE.

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"KNOWING therefore the fear of the Lord"—i.e. the religion revealed by prophets, set forth in action by psalmists, illuminated and as it were recreated by Jesus Christ—"we persuade men." Do not some of our most intellectual preachers frame their reasonings too much in accordance with the less probable version of St. Paul's words, "the terror of the Lord"? This criticism applies also to the great Franciscan "apostle" (as some have called him), whose pleadings for faith have lately impressed the most dissimilar representatives of Italian society, Padre Agostino da Montefeltro. From an artistic point of view, remarks an Italian reviewer, it is not yet possible to estimate these discourses, published as they are from shorthand reports without the sanction of the author, to meet a wide popular demand. But comparing their contents with those of the apostolic writings, it is easy to point out a difference of manner. "The Christian religion gave no promise to the first neophytes of a solution of the grave social problems which were to destroy the ancient world." Padre Agostino, on the other hand, seeks to alarm by a sad picture of coming evils, which can only be averted by a return to the faith. But grant them averted for a time, what is to prevent the world from falling under the same temptations? Will the gospel attract multitudes as of old by being presented as an efficacious political and social elixir? No; the successful apostle must be a combination of the prophet and the psalmist. He must have "seen" the truths which he affirms, and he must be able to give expression with lyric pathos to the hopes and fears, the struggles and the victories, which make up the wondrous poem of the life of religion in the soul. That Padre Agostino does in large measure combine these qualities is clear from the testimony of eye-witnesses to the strange stirring of emotion produced by his discourses. But was this effect in any way assisted by his adoption of the line of argument described?—which reminds us that the preaching friar has successively been a soldier and a lawyer. Could not other witnesses have told us of sceptical smiles and shrugs of the shoulder? Why does the man

of the world, when brought into Christ's fold, forget the heavenly aspirations which in spite of himself opened his heart to the gospel? Ought not apologetics, whether in or out of the pulpit, to be fundamentally psychological and Biblical? Yes; there is such a thing as Biblical psychology, though not of the sort which a great theologian once imagined; and exegesis, if it is not to be a piece of dry archæology, must learn to be more psychological. Only thus will it help the apologist and the preacher.

T. K. CHEYNE.

### BREVIA.

**Assyrisches Wörterbuch, von F. Delitzsch, 2. Lieferung, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1888.**—Last year, in the September number of *THE EXPOSITOR*, we discussed at some length the first part of the long-promised *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* of Dr. Delitzsch; and we took the opportunity of pointing out certain radical defects in his method of work—defects so serious that the value of much of his work was, from our point of view, materially impaired. Shortly after the appearance of this review there appeared a paragraph in the *Academy*, in which the writer expressed his opinion that we had been “too incisive” in our treatment of Dr. Delitzsch’s *Wörterbuch*, but admitting at the same time that Dr. Delitzsch made mistakes in copying Assyrian inscriptions. Following closely on our review of the *Wörterbuch* there appeared reviews by Schrader, Jensen,<sup>1</sup> Sayce, Lyon, Harper Bezold,<sup>2</sup> and “Bel-ibni,” all of which pointed out grave defects and blunders in the first part of the *Wörterbuch*. Schrader, the generous and learned teacher of Dr. Delitzsch, expressed himself so strongly on the subject of the *Wörterbuch* and its author, that any person but Dr. Delitzsch would have thought twice before he committed to the public a second part of a work in which the same blunders and the same defects which occurred in the first were perpetuated. Mr. Lyon pointed out the mistakes in the work in an impartial way, and “Bel-ibni” discussed the defects of the book with characteristic

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Jensen points out that some of the words quoted by Dr. Delitzsch do not exist! See *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* Bd. II. pp. 157-163.

<sup>2</sup> *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1888. No. 32, cols. 1079-81.

vehemence and perspicacity. From these reviews Dr. Delitzsch might have learned that his power of copying inscriptions upon tablets was limited; that he made mistakes like other people; that his knowledge of Semitic languages was of the slightest description; and last, but not least, that the time for making an Assyrian dictionary had not yet arrived. We cannot, of course, blame Dr. Delitzsch for not possessing the power of copying Assyrian inscriptions, nor for not knowing Semitic languages; but we do blame him for pretending that he can copy Assyrian, and for trying to make the ignorant think that he does know Semitic languages. We were much surprised when first we found out that he could not copy ~~Assyrian inscriptions~~, for we understood that the enlightened Saxon Government sent him to England every year in order to make and keep him *facile princeps* in Assyrian: that he is not so, however, we have proved before, and will presently prove again. Before doing so we will explain what we mean by saying that the time for making an Assyrian dictionary has not yet come. It is estimated that there are in the British Museum about 50,000 tablets and tablet-fragments written in Assyrian or Babylonian; the inscriptions upon them relate to every conceivable subject. The most important of all the various collections which go to make up the 50,000 is that which came from Kuyundshik, which comprises about twelve thousand tablets and tablet-fragments. Of this collection rather less than five hundred have been published; and out of the whole series of collections in the British Museum not 2,000, or less than one twenty-fifth part of the whole, have been published.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Rawlinson has published the greatest number of Assyrian texts, in all, eight hundred; among them being the lengthy inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser I., Shalmaneser II., Assurnasirnal, Sargon II., Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and Nebuchadnezzar II. The greatest number of Babylonian texts, more than one thousand, have been published by the Rev. Dr. Strassmaier; and when we remove the contributions of these scholars from the lists of published texts but little remains for any one else to lay claim to. Now Dr. Delitzsch has visited London year after year for several years for the purpose of copying texts, but notwithstanding all these visits,—from 1874–1887,—he has only published, for the first time, copies of twenty texts.<sup>2</sup> His visits

<sup>1</sup> See Bezold, *Die Thontafelsammlungen des British Museum*, p. 9 (753).

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* 3 lines from S. 25, 30 lines from K. 5423a, and eighteen texts (partly in

have been so short, and he has spent so little of his time when in London in copying tablets, that this is not to be wondered at; but what really is to be regretted is that Dr. Delitzsch cannot have seen, much less have read, more than one-twentieth part of the inscribed tablets in the British Museum. How then, we ask, is it possible for Dr. Delitzsch to make a dictionary of the Assyrian language, while about forty-eight thousand cuneiform tablets remain unpublished, and while forty-seven thousand are unknown to him? If the reader will think what these facts would mean if applied to Greek or Latin, we imagine that he will not cavil at our statement that the time for making an Assyrian dictionary has not yet come. Moreover, Dr. Delitzsch's statement that his *Wörterbuch* contains "die gesamte bisher veröffentlichte und einen beträchtlichen Theil der noch nicht veröffentlichten babylonisch-assyrischen Keilschrift-literatur," reads not unlike a wilful mis-statement in the light of these facts. What we do want very much, and what it is possible to make, is an Assyrian Vocabulary to all the well-understood historical and other texts: when that is done, some advancement will have been made, and preparation for a complete Assyrian Dictionary begun. Dr. Strassmaier's *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss* was a step in the right direction, only unfortunately that wonderful work does not give the meanings of the 9072 words arranged in it.

In the new part of the *Wörterbuch* the same mischievous system of publishing texts partly transliterated is again followed, and the student is led into error thereby. *E.g.* on page 182, four lines of a text are given, partly in Assyrian and partly in transcription; but why are not the original Babylonian signs given? We don't want Dr. Delitzsch's transcription into Assyrian, we want the text as it is given on the tablet. Give an Assyrian transcript as well if necessary, but we don't want that alone. In his four-line transcript he again proves his inability to distinguish the difference between Babylonian characters, for in the third line he reads *ri* instead of *khu*. It is true that he puts "oder *khu*" on the margin; but the tablet is so clearly and well written that it is marvellous how he has made the mistake, and the sign *ri* occurs so often on the tablet that there is no room for any doubt whatever. Or

transliteration) in the *Wörterbuch*. We are not, of course, reckoning additions to already published texts, or copies taken by him from photographs like the celebrated "Heirathscontract."



page 204 Dr. Delitzsch publishes a part of the obverse of K. 2107. He leaves out the ends of fifteen lines which are clearly to be seen on the left-hand side of the tablet, and the end of a line which is still to be seen after the line ending *napkhar rag-gi*; but no indication of these omissions is given. To publish texts in this way is slovenly and careless. On page 173, line 16, the last character given by Delitzsch as *du* is impossible; it may however be *tum*. On page 171, line 51, the traces of a character which are to be seen on tablet K. 4243 are not indicated; and in line 62, same page, a whole character (*kur* probably) is omitted entirely. On page 233, George Smith's copies of K. 4602 and K. 4400 are printed without any attempt at verification of the text having been made by Dr. Delitzsch, who represents Col. 1 as being complete, although the whole of the left margin of the tablet does not exist! Occasionally Dr. Delitzsch's statements are childish. *E.g.* on page 173 he says that his copy of the fragment published there was made during G. Smith's lifetime, and therefore may not be trustworthy; but why has he not verified and collated his copy during his various visits to London since G. Smith died in 1876? Dr. Delitzsch is very careless in quoting the numbers of tablets. On page 309, he quotes from Haupt's *Akkadische Sprache* K. 24<sup>25</sup>, without ever having taken the trouble to find out what the number of the tablet really was. For the information of scholars, we add that the number of this tablet is 2485. Had Dr. Delitzsch taken the trouble to consult the Museum registers he could have found it in a very short time. Another similar case is K. 4338, which he quotes eleven times in his *Wörterbuch* (on pp. 25, 63, 68, 103, 107, 121, 200, 226, 243, 294, and 320), as K. 4378. It is correctly quoted twice by Strassmaier *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, pp. 308, 569. Even when Dr. Delitzsch re-publishes other people's copies, he makes extraordinary blunders, *E.g.*, in his *Lesestücke* he publishes G. Smith's copy of the Deluge text with additions from fragments of tablets acquired in recent years: on page 102, line 52 (tablet 82-5-22, 316) he reads the last character as *bit*, but it is really *ra* and is very clearly written. In line 103 of the same text, the sign *mat* is given very clearly by two tablets; yet in some unaccountable manner Dr. Delitzsch makes it out to be *Khi shu*!! Still more unaccountable is the blunder which Dr. Delitzsch has made in line 121 of the Deluge tablet. The text has *VI ur-ra u mu-sha-a-ti*, "six days and

nights," a reading perfectly intelligible and certain, because what happened on the seventh day is stated in line 123. Dr. Delitzsch however reads *VI ur-ra XVII mu-sha-a-ti*, "six days and seventeen nights," which reading he thinks preferable to that of G. Smith. Now a slight examination of the original tablet shows that the sign *u* "and" is perfectly clear, and that what Dr. Delitzsch has made seven wedges of is nothing more or less than a HOLE in the surface of the tablet, which has become partly filled with dust!! On page 109, line 279, first character, Dr. Delitzsch, following G. Smith, writes *da*, but says in a note that the sign may possibly be *sha*; a very short examination of the text clearly shows that the sign is really *ra*! Such mistakes in copying are, however, not so important as one which we will now mention. Many years ago Dr. Delitzsch copied tablet K. 247, on which he imagined that he saw a dialectic form of a word, and on the right-hand side of it the observation *naqbu*. He then thought that *naqbu* was the phonetic equivalent of the well-known ideograph *eme sal*, and was the first, as Prof. Haupt remarked,<sup>1</sup> to explain it as meaning "Female Language," or "Woman's Language."

Upon this statement a whole theory about the Sumerian and Accadian language was built up by Delitzsch, Haupt, Sayce, and Hommel. But quite recently Dr. Bezold has proved<sup>2</sup> that the reading *naqbu* is a mistake for *eme sal*, and thus this elaborate and wonderful theory falls to the ground with a crash, burying in its ruins much of its founder's reputation. We earnestly hope that Dr. Delitzsch's new theory as to the correctness of Halévy's "*Antisumerischem Standpunkt*," advertised on the cover of the new part of the *Wörterbuch*, will last longer than the old one which Dr. Bezold has demolished.

A great deal of space in Dr. Delitzsch's *Wörterbuch* is occupied by profitless discussions. *E.g.* on pp. 234-236, he discusses the word *uqu*, which Sir Henry Rawlinson, so far back as 1851,<sup>3</sup> considered to be an unusual word meaning "people." Sir Henry's

<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian "Womau's Language" (*Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, V., p. 69).

<sup>2</sup> Bezold, "Remarks on some unpublished Cuneiform Syllabaries," p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Rawlinson, *Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions*, p. xlviii (1851). If Dr. Delitzsch had taken the pains to find out what Sir H. Rawlinson had really said, he would not have fallen into the trap laid by Dr. Oppert (Le colonel Rawlinson crut d'abord voir dans ce mot *uqu* un monogramme complexe).

views on this point were not accepted universally, but after three pages of argument Dr. Delitzsch is obliged to come to the absurd conclusion that *ugu* is a "Sumerian loan-word which suddenly came into use again in the latest period" (in *ú-ku* ein *sumerisches* Lehnwort zu sehen, das plötzlich wieder in spätester Zeit in Curs gekommen wäre). Scattered throughout the book are several examples of abuse of other students of Assyrian, which can do neither the writer nor the reader any good. *E.g.* on p. 311, in discussing the word *akhru* he talks of the "*bedauerliche Unsicherheit, um nicht zu sagen, Unwissenheit*" which characterizes Dr. Strassmaier's copy of a certain word. Now, considering that Dr. Strassmaier has published 1000 difficult Babylonian texts and the *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, not to mention other works, it is not to be wondered at if he occasionally mis-copies a sign; moreover, it must be remembered that he does not claim infallibility as Dr. Delitzsch does. After the examples given by us above, it is clear that the words *Unsicherheit* and *Unwissenheit* really describe the copies of Dr. Delitzsch. We will quote another passage to show how Dr. Delitzsch regards the labours of one of the early Assyrian scholars. On p. 286, speaking of Dr. Oppert's translations, he says, "Freilich wird mir gleichzeitig bei meinem—ebenjetzt—erstmaligen<sup>1</sup> Lesen der Übersetzungen Opperts recht klar, dass meine Methode in der Erforschung des assyrischen Wortschatzes derjenigen meines verehrten Pariser Fachgenossen noch weit mehr entgegengesetzt ist als ich bislang glaubte, und ich schöpfe daraus vom (*sic!*) neuem (*sic!*) den Muth, auf dem in diesem Wörterbuch betretenen, freilich unendlich mühsamen Weg, den assyrischen Wortschatz einziger und allein aus sich selbst unter Berücksichtigung aller bislang bekannter Belegstellen der einzelnen Stämme und Wörter zu erklären, unentmuthigt vorwärts zu schreiten."<sup>2</sup> The only remark we have need to make on this conceited observation is, that if Dr. Oppert's translations and method of work do not correspond with those of Dr. Delitzsch, so much the worse for Dr. Delitzsch.

As an example of the guess-work employed by Dr. Delitzsch in finding the meanings of words, we instance the following. On p. 266 he gives the verb *azar* "to curse"; and he says that this

<sup>1</sup> This statement does not agree with the numerous references to Dr. Oppert's *Documents Juridiques* made by Dr. Delitzsch in his *Wo lag das Paradies*, pp. 147, 148, 177, 192, 206.

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be a stock phrase of Dr. Delitzsch when speaking of other people's books. *Comp. the Literar-Centralbl.*, 1887, No. 42, col. 1440.

meaning can be deduced with certainty from the substantive *izzirtu*, "curse." Now, this meaning of *izzirtu* is a guess on the part of Dr. Delitzsch, based upon the fact that it occurs in parallelism with *i-riti*, which he thinks is identical in meaning with *arratu*, "curse," comparing Hebrew root ארר. But the root of *izzirtu* can quite properly be נזר, or even אצר, and the only instance of the use of a verbal form supposed to be taken from the root אצר given in the *Wörterbuch*, throws light neither on the first nor the second radical. On p. 316 Dr. Delitzsch laughs at Mr. S. A. Smith for translating *i-zir-tu* (*i-šir-tu*) by "document," and adds, he might have guessed a thousand other meanings, "statt dessen er ebenso gut auf tausend andere Bedeutungen raten könnte." Now, Mr. Smith gives this translation as doubtful (See *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Nov., 1837, p. 72, line 1), and therefore Dr. Delitzsch's remark only applies to his own piece of guess-work. We cannot close our criticism of Part 2 of the *Wörterbuch* without commending the beautifully neat and clear writing of its author. It would be better however if Dr. Delitzsch would learn to write cuneiform characters as they appear on the tablets. —

But the reader of this review will, after this exposure, be inclined to ask if there is anything certain at all in Assyriology; and we can answer with truth, and say that there is. Assyriology is a young and healthy science, and the line of demarcation between what is and what is not known in it is very clearly defined. What is known becomes better known each day; and what is not at present known may quite possibly become known in the immediate future. What we protest against is the assumption by professed Assyriologists of knowledge which they do not possess. To become even a respectable copyist of Assyrian, much practice in copying is required; and to explain Assyrian inscriptions with anything like accuracy, a good knowledge of the better-known Semitic dialects, like Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic, is required. To read a few books in each of these dialects, some years of hard study are required; and as neither Dr. Delitzsch nor his imitators have gone through this course of study, it is clear that they cannot possess the information to be derived from it. From force of circumstances it is impossible for Dr. Delitzsch ever to be a good copyist of Assyrian. If he cannot spend three months of each year in copying tablets, no amount of pretension and no amount of skilful adaptation of other people's copies of texts will make him one. Semitic languages he



can learn if he will give the time to study them ; and that he should at once devote himself to this important branch of his study, no one who knows any Semitic dialect, and who takes the trouble to read his so-called philological observations, can doubt. We much regret that he has been so ill-advised as to continue to publish the incomplete, undigested, and, in many cases, badly explained list of Assyrian words which he calls a " Wörterbuch," as it can do him no credit and only adds another to the long list of pseudo-scientific works on Assyrian which are now becoming so common. If he would help in publishing the forty-eight thousand unpublished texts in the British Museum, he would be employing his time with some chance of success.

E.

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## *EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN PHRYGIA:*

### *A STUDY IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.*

#### I.

THE diffusion of Christianity over the central plateau of Asia Minor is a subject of great interest, but involved in the utmost obscurity. A few facts are attested by biblical writers, but beyond this practically nothing is known about the process by which the large countries of Phrygia, Galatia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia were conquered by the new religion. The fact that hardly a sentence is devoted to the subject by modern historians of the Church<sup>1</sup> is a sufficient proof of the dearth of information.

These countries are rarely mentioned by the ancient historians of the early Church. Eusebius, our great authority, devotes his chief attention to leaders of thought and to specially distinguished martyrs. In both respects Phrygia and the adjoining countries furnish little to interest him. The Phrygian heresy of Montanus aroused considerable controversy in the latter half of the second century, and Eusebius is led to give some information about one small district of Phrygia at that period. With this exception, the only district of Phrygia to which he alludes is the Lycus valley, with the great cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis, and with the important names of Philip, Papias, and Apollinaris. This valley is the one low-lying district of Phrygia, far more closely connected with the civilized

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Lightfoot has compressed more information on the subject in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians, and on the works of Ignatius and Polycarp, than all the professed historians have collected.

sea-coast than with the rest of Phrygia, penetrated at an early time with Greek civilization, rich and prosperous, and in close commercial relations with the outer world. Eusebius makes very slight allusion to Phrygian martyrs, and we may therefore conclude that the country did not suffer much, and that none of its martyrs seemed to him to be specially distinguished by the sufferings they endured or the courage they displayed. Cappadocia emerges from obscurity during the fourth century, through the powerful personality of Basil and the Gregories, and displays to us a completely organized Church, universally through the province. But about the process by which this Church grew not one fact is recorded by historians.

One of the few anecdotes which are preserved about the Phrygian Christians is not greatly to their credit. It is told by Neander as follows. "A certain Phrygian, Quintus by name, of a nation peculiarly inclined by nature to fanatical extravagance, presented himself in company with many others whom he had wrought up by his speeches to the same pitch of enthusiastic zeal, uncalled for, before the proconsul's tribunal [in Smyrna <sup>1</sup>], and declared himself a Christian. But when the magistrate pressed him, and wrought upon his fears by showing him the wild beasts, he yielded, swore by the genius of the emperor, and sacrificed. After stating this fact, the Church [of Smyrna, in a circular letter to other Churches] adds, 'We therefore praise not those who voluntarily surrender themselves: for so are we not taught in the gospel.'"

While literature and written history are both wholly silent about the spread of Christianity in central Asia Minor, it has fortunately happened that another kind of historical documents has been found in unusual abundance in one of the countries enumerated, *viz.* in Phrygia. It is well known that Christian inscriptions are rarely found

<sup>1</sup> Quintus was a stranger, either a visitor to or actually resident in Smyrna.

older than the time of Constantine, when Christianity gained the upper hand in the civilized world, and it became quite safe to profess the new religion openly. Two exceptions to this rule of rarity exist: one is in the catacombs of Rome, the other is in Phrygia. These Phrygian inscriptions are, many of them, unpublished; and most of those which are published are printed in scattered articles in various literary journals. It may therefore be of some interest if I attempt to bring together the general results of a study of these little known documents, and to show that some interesting historical conclusions can be drawn from them. It may add to their interest among English readers that most of these documents have been discovered by English travellers, and especially in the course of the expeditions made in connexion with the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, organized in the winter of 1882-3, and now almost defunct.

In these early Christian inscriptions we have not the infinite variety of subject and the occasional richness of information which lend interest to the non-Christian inscriptions. They are all merely epitaphs, brief in style, generally meagre in content. Their interest begins and ends in their Christian character. During a time when Christianity was proscribed, when its professors were subject to frequent persecution, it is of course very rare to find on a tomb any express statement as to the religion of the deceased. Such a statement might bring the whole surviving family into danger. It is highly probable that many epitaphs of Christians escape us, because they contain nothing to characterize them as Christian, mentioning only names and relationships. But the inscriptions which concern us here do in some way or other express their character as Christian. Often they do so only by some slight indication, or by some peculiar phrase which might in itself be used by any one, Christian or not, but



which rouses our attention by its unusualness of character, and finally, after comparison and study, stands out as one of the recognised signs by which the adherents of the new religion sought to make their graves known to their brethren without rousing suspicion or ill-will by any open declaration.

The conclusions which I state are not those of a specialist in Church history. That is a subject in which I have just the amount of knowledge which ordinary educated people have of an interesting phase of history, one in which I have no right to express an opinion, but must simply be a learner from others. What is here said is gathered entirely from archæological evidence, from a study of the inscriptions themselves and of the character of the country. In this department I have earned a right to speak; and if the inferences which I draw in my own department have any value for the history of the Church, it belongs to the scholars in that subject to criticise them, to estimate their value, and to assign them their proper place.

These inscriptions are frequently couched in very poor Greek. The spelling is often detestable, and the construction of sentences is sometimes so bad that the meaning is by no means easy to catch. Such epitaphs obviously must have been written by persons of no high education. It is also to be observed that the epitaphs of large cities, and especially the cities of southern Phrygia, near the great highways and the chief centres of commerce, education, and intercourse, are far more correct and show much greater familiarity with Greek than those of the country districts. This leads us to an interesting observation, which results from the study of the whole body of Phrygian inscriptions. The people of Phrygia, though they had been subject to Greek kings for centuries, were only learning to speak Greek under the Roman Empire. In the south-western parts of Phrygia, where they were nearer the Greek centres of

civilization, Greek was coming into use between 100 and 200 A.D. ; in the northern and eastern parts of Phrygia not till 200 to 300 A.D. The larger cities, with greater wealth and more lively commercial intercourse, must be excepted from this rule, which applies only to the mass of the population in the villages and small towns. Those who knew only the Phrygian language, seem generally to have been unable to read or write, and the few who wrote epitaphs in Phrygian use Greek letters. But the almost invariable rule seems to be that they who learned anything at all learned Greek, and felt ashamed of their native language and ways, and put on a general varnish of Greek manners and civilization. Various slight indications lead me to believe that it was the Christian religion which spread the use of the Greek language. The reason why Christianity encouraged Greek was, partly at least, because the sacred writings were in Greek.

We are thus led to picture the state of things in the country parts of Phrygia about 200 A.D. as follows. The rustic population was almost wholly uneducated, ignorant of any language but Phrygian, unaffected by the civilization of Greece and Rome, which had spread in the great towns. The new religion, which affected the cities first,<sup>1</sup> spread among the rustics during the century 200 to 300 A.D., and produced among them a desire for education and for reading. Only by learning Greek were they able to read the Scriptures, to mix with the educated population of the towns, or to study any department of literature. Thus there was encouraged a spirit which gradually extirpated the native languages, Phrygian, Galatian, Lycaonian, etc. It is impossible not to contrast this spirit in the East with the Western tendency to translate the holy writings into the languages of the uneducated and barbarous races, a tendency

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Phrygia this seems to be proved by the facts which will be hereafter stated in connexion with one of the classes of inscriptions.

which can be traced from the Gothic Bible of Ulfilas down to the great Bible Societies of the present day.

The Christian inscriptions of Phrygia fall into two well-marked classes, according to the style in which they are composed and the formulæ which they employ. One class is confined to the north-western district; the other, and very much larger class, is found in the southern and the central cities, and in a few isolated instances, even in the north-eastern district of Phrygia and the adjoining part of Galatia. The cause of this well-marked distinction can hardly be doubtful. There must have been two distinct tides of Christianizing influence, springing from different sources, and showing a difference of character. One of these comes from the north-west, the other from some point in the south.

Let us now attempt to study them separately, to analyse their character, and, if possible, discover something about their origin and the period when they took place. I shall begin with the inscriptions of the north-western district, and the first step must be to give the chief documents on which my conclusions are founded. They are few in number; the district in which they are found is not large, nor is it generally rich in inscriptions, and the work of the Exploration Fund has been directed chiefly to other parts of Phrygia. Almost all these inscriptions belong to a large and fertile valley, which is watered by the river Tembrogius (Porsuk Su in Turkish) a tributary of the Sangarius. I have studied the topography of this valley elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and have tried to show that it contained one small city called Appia, and a number of scattered villages, which are included under one heading as the home of the tribe Prepenisseis. This then is a district where we must expect to find typical examples of loose construction, obscure

<sup>1</sup> "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," Part II., in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887; under §§ lxxxviii. to xeviii.

meaning, and bad Greek in general. The other cities of north-western Phrygia furnish hardly any early Christian inscriptions: Dorylæum and Aizani, both rich and prosperous places, have left us nothing of the period, while Cotiaion, also a very rich city, has left us only two early Christian inscriptions, and those so carefully guarded in expression that their religion can only be conjectured. Now the pagan inscriptions of Aizani are unusually numerous, and at Cotiaion also a considerable number are known. Moreover Cotiaion is practically the metropolis of the Tembrogius valley, and there was evidently throughout ancient history the closest and most intimate relation between the Prepenisseis country and the great city twenty to thirty miles distant on the lower course of the same river. Why were early Christian inscriptions comparatively numerous among the country people and so rare in towns? A scrutiny of the documents throws some light on this point.

First among the north-western Phrygian inscriptions I place a group of epitaphs, in which, contrary to the general practice, the religion of the deceased, and in most cases of the survivors also, is boldly and openly stated. From the existence of such inscriptions we may infer a considerable amount of religious freedom and general toleration in the district where they are found. They cannot therefore belong to a time when persecution was active, and the two periods 249 to 260 and 303 to 313 A.D., must be excluded. Now even in times when persecution was not actively encouraged by the reigning emperor, the Roman officials were, as a general rule, opposed to the "new superstition," and were, of course, bound to administer the existing laws which proscribed Christianity. Therefore, if there was a considerable amount of toleration in the district where these inscriptions are found, it must be because the population was not unfavourably disposed to the Christians, and probably because the majority were



actually Christians. At the same time, in a district such as I have described, officials of the Roman government would, of course, be very rarely seen; the treatment of Christians would, therefore, depend almost entirely on the behaviour of their own non-Christian neighbours to them. There can have been no bitter feeling between the old faith and the new; the two parties must have lived side by side in comparative peace and good-will, and Christians were not afraid to openly profess their belief. In all probability this implies a decided preponderance, possibly in numbers, certainly in influence, of the Christian element.

In the great cities of the neighbourhood there are, as I said, hardly any early Christian inscriptions. Why were the Christians so timid in the cities, so bold in the country round? Part of the reason lies in the fact that in the cities they were brought into closer connexion with government officials. Another part lies in the existence of a worship of the Roman emperors in the cities, which was probably unknown in the country. This worship of the emperors was the official bond which united all inhabitants of a province in the tie of loyalty to the Roman government. The Christians objected to worship men as gods, and the Roman rulers saw in their objection a refusal of loyal devotion to the imperial rule. They did not care whether the provincials worshipped Sabazius, or Men, or Zeus, or Chrestus; but they did care very much that all should join in professing devotion and loyalty, with the binding sanction of religious worship, to the emperors, as representing the majesty of Rome. This was the chief ground of persecution, and this was far more immediately present to dwellers in cities than to country people.

But these reasons do not completely explain the facts. Roman officials were always very few. Municipal self-government was the rule to a most remarkable degree in Phrygia, where the cities were even allowed to strike bronze

coins, with the names of their own city magistrates upon them, and without the name of the Roman emperor; and it cannot be proved that a single official of the Roman government was *permanently* resident in any of the three great cities mentioned. The safety of the Christians everywhere must have depended mainly on the feelings of their non-Christian fellow citizens; and if they were less bold in the cities, it must have been because they had more reason to dread their neighbours. This implies that the Christians were less numerous and less powerful in the cities than in the country districts of north-western Phrygia.

Now, to anticipate a little, let us compare the other class, *viz.* the inscriptions of central and southern Phrygia. These belong mainly to the cities, and are very rare in country districts; they show that leading citizens and senators were sometimes Christian, and make it probable that the Christian was the preponderating element in several cities, such as the important and rich Eumeneia. Thus we are led to a very striking difference between the two currents of Christianizing influence: that of the north-west spread chiefly among the country people; that of the south spread chiefly in the cities. Eusebius mentions that, in the great persecution of Diocletian, a Phrygian city, whose entire population from the magistrates downwards was Christian, was surrounded by the soldiers and burned. It is impossible to accept this story as historical, and the modern Church historians either omit it or throw discredit on it. But we may at least say that in Phrygia there is a probability that at least the great mass of the population in some cities was Christian at the time in question (303 A.D.), and that in no other country does such a probability exist. The story of the city being surrounded and burnt savours of legend, but the important feature in it may, on the authority of inscriptions, be accepted as true or as only a slight exaggeration of the preponderance of the Christian element.

1. "In the year 363, on the 10th of the month Pereitios, Eutyches, son of Eutyches, to his wife Tatia and his father, in remembrance, being Christians, and to himself: Phellinas of Temenothyrai," etc.

The end of the inscription is lost; perhaps it stated that Phellinas was the artist. Eutyches erected the tomb to his wife and his father, who were dead, and to receive his own body when he died. He mentions that his wife and father were Christians, and we may, of course, understand that he also was a Christian.

An important point in this text is that is dated in the year 363. The date is reckoned from the autumn equinox of the year 85 B.C., when the Roman Province of Asia, of which Phrygia was a part, was "pacified," according to the Roman phrase, *i.e.* when the administration of the province was arranged on a permanent footing. Pereitios is a Macedonian month, fourth of the year. The people of Phrygia either use the Macedonian names for the months (for the conquests of Alexander the Great left this and many other permanent traces in the countries of Asia), or else they mention them by numbers; the native Phrygian names are never employed. We would give a great deal to know what they were; but in this, as in most other respects, the inscriptions teach us little or nothing except what is Greek.

The inscription then was erected in the year 279 after Christ, about the third of January. We have thus a clue to the date of the other inscriptions which use the same expression "Christians." This first example does not use the complete formula which occurs in the rest, and it alone is found outside of the Tembrogius valley. It was found in the Armenian church in the large town of Ushak; but it must have been carried thither (and probably has been carried a considerable distance, as is often the case), for Ushak is not the site of any ancient city. The stone however cannot well have been brought from the valley

of the river Tembrogius, but may perhaps have come from a village on the southern slope of the hills in which that river rises. Very many of the stones of Ushak have come from that neighbourhood. The nearest ancient city to Ushak is the small town of Trajanopolis, and this by its situation is included in the north-western district of Phrygia. Moreover the town of Temenothyrai is situated in the extreme north-western corner of Phrygia.

I have not seen the stone on which this inscription is engraved ; the rest are given from my own copy.

2.

“In the year 333

#### CHREISTIANS TO A CHREISTIAN.

Aurelia Ammia, with their son-in-law Zoticus, and with their grandchildren Alexandria and Telesphorus, to her husband, constructed (the tomb).”

The date 248-9 after Christ is partly restored : part of the first line is illegible, and there remain only the two symbols indicating thirty and three ; the word denoting “in the year,” and the symbol for 300, have to be restored, but the preceding inscription and other considerations leave no doubt as to the restoration. It is apparent that a line has been omitted giving the name of the husband and of course of his father. Aurelia Ammia and her husband had a daughter who must have died before her father, and been buried separately ; this daughter’s husband and two children join with Ammia in performing the last rites.

The translation of this inscription which I give is not very clear, but it is at least a little clearer than the Greek, which is hopelessly confused, and very hard to understand, especially when the bad syntax is complicated by the engraver’s omission of a line containing the name of the deceased.

The personal names Aurelius and Aurelia, when used as



*prænomena*, indicate a date later than Caracalla, 217 A.D. They seem to be assumed by men and women as a mark of their citizenship, to which all the provincials were admitted by that emperor. The use of a *prænomen* was one of the marks of Roman citizenship.

This and the following two inscriptions have the spelling *Chreistian*. I have therefore grouped them together, and regard all three as belonging to the same period. I shall show below reason to think that variations in the spelling of the word *Christian* are a proof of early date, before the new religion was quite consolidated and settled in the district.

3. "Aurelius Zoticus, son of Marcion, to his own parents Marcion and Appe, and to his brother Artemon, in remembrance during his lifetime.

#### CHREISTIANS TO CHREISTIANS."

The last words are added in a separate line at the bottom of the grave-stone, far away from the rest of the epitaph. The regular formula in the plural is used even although only one person erects the tomb.

The style of this inscription is so simple that I would readily assign it to an even earlier date than 249 A.D.; while the *prænomen* Aurelius forbids us to place it much earlier.

Marcion bears the same name as the famous Pontic heretic, who flourished during the second century. There is a certain amount of probability that the name would be avoided after his heresy was proscribed by the Church; the date which we have assigned to this inscription agrees with this consideration. It was probably erected about 240, and Marcion's birth would therefore fall probably in the latter part of the second century.

4. "Aurelia Rufina, daughter of Trophimus, to Aurelius Alexander

Domnas, her own husband, and to her children, Cyrilla and Beronicianus and Aurelia and Glyconis and a second Beronicianus, in remembrance constructed (the tomb) along with her own son Aurelius Alexander, during their lifetime.

CHREISTIANS TO CHREISTIANS."

Dissatisfied perhaps with the cold phrase, "her own husband," Rufina has added "her sweetest husband," in small letters above his name, between the lines. Five of her children died in youth; only one survived to join with his mother in erecting the monument to his father's memory. The very rare name, Beronicianus, otherwise absolutely unknown in Phrygian epitaphs, but here occurring twice, may have been suggested to a reader of Acts xxvi. The spelling Beronike is known as well as Berenike. Another Beronicianus, a Sardian philosopher in the end of the fourth century, is known. This name and Cyrilla have a touch of the later character about them (see below on No. 7), but the rest of the epitaph is of the regular third century type.

I may add here a small fragment, which has this one important character, that it confirms by an additional testimony the date of this class inscriptions.

5. Only part of the end remains, none of the words are complete, and the additions made by me are inclosed in brackets; the name Ioulios is uncertain, and is added merely *exempli gratia*.

"[Ioul]ios, son of Onesi[mus, to, etc.]

[A Christ]ian [to a Christian].

In the year 34 [0-9]."

Between the second line and the date there is a broad gap, occupied by a relief representing a pair of oxen yoked. This relief shows that the chief occupation of the deceased was agriculture, and confirms the other indications of the rustic character of the population in this district.

The last symbol of the date is lost, and we can say only that it must fall between 256 and 265 A.D. But as the persecution begun by Decius in 249 was not really stopped till 260, the probability is that the inscription falls between 260 and 265. From this time until 303 there was probably peace and quiet for the Christians of Phrygia, and we might expect to find greater boldness in the expression of their religion in their epitaphs.

6. "Auxanousa, the consort of Andronicus, and his son Trophimos and his cousin Lassamos during their lifetime to themselves and to Andronicus, Chrestians to a Chrestian, erected (this tomb)."

The first point that strikes us in this inscription is the spelling of the word Chrestian. The spelling was not uncommon in the early centuries. The Roman historian Suetonius (about 120-50 A.D.) speaks of Chrestus, not of Christus: the name Chrestus, which was a Greek adjective meaning "good," was much more readily suggested to educated Greeks or Romans than the almost unknown Christus. Hence the term Chrestian came to be commonly used by the pagans, and Tertullian (about 200 A.D.), in his Defence addressed to the Nations, reminds them that the very name Chrestian, which they give to the adherents of the new religion, attests the good character of those to whom it is applied. Justin Martyr (about 150 A.D.) and Lactantius (about 310 A.D.) also allude to the term Chrestian; and the latter stigmatises the error in terms which seem to imply that it was used even by Christians. The spelling is therefore a pre-Constantine error, and its use by Christians perhaps points to the period immediately preceeding Lactantius, or during his life. This indication agrees with the date that other considerations have led us to assign to these inscriptions.

7. "Aurelius Glycon to his consort Demetria and to himself while still living, and their children Eugenius and Domna and Patricius and Hypatius and Glycon and Zotikes, Chrestians to a Chrestian."

Glycon, his three sons, and his two daughters, Domna and Zotices, prepare the tomb for the deceased Demetria. In this inscription several of the names Eugenius, Patricius, and Hypatius are, though not exclusively Christian, yet very much favoured by Christians; and the formation of a regular Christian nomenclature for persons does not seem to be earlier than A.D. 300. In inscriptions of the third century, there is no distinction apparently between names of Christians and of non-Christians.<sup>1</sup> The Christians lived side by side with their pagan neighbours, and avoided outward distinctions which might have drawn attention to themselves.

But though later than the preceding inscription, this one need not be placed after the time of Constantine. The style of the names belongs to the period of the Nicene Council (A.D. 325); and the analogy of the other inscriptions, which show the same formula, forbids us to place this one later than 310-30, and the spelling Chrestian is more appropriate to the period about 300.

8-10. In the same district there occur three examples of a quaint formula. In addition to an inscription of the ordinary character, there is added in some corner of the stone apart from the rest, a sentence of five words, "*Thou shalt not wrong God.*" In one case there is added beside this phrase, an open book, which I interpret as an open bible. In two of these inscriptions the main body of the text is lost owing to defacement or fracture; in the third, there is an obvious difference in style between the two parts, showing clearly that they have been engraved by different hands. The epitaph proper is engraved in good, clearly cut letters, is composed in fairly correct Greek, and

<sup>1</sup> The inscription of Cotiaion, Lebas-Waddington, No. 821, is perhaps Christian, though nothing definitely characterizes it as such. It contains the names Magna, Alexandria, Cyrilla twice, Theodorus, all names which, though used by pagans, seem by their union to savour of Christianity.



is well spelt. The short phrase at the top is rather scratched than engraved, the letters are of a different shape, and the spelling is execrable. The inscription proper is accompanied by a sculpture in relief, but the separate phrase has beside it an open book represented not in relief but by incised lines. The inference seems probable that the phrase "Thou shalt not wrong God" was not engraved by the stone-cutter from whom the grave-stone was bought, but was added by the family of the deceased as a private sign. At the same time it must be remembered that the number of examples is too small to justify entirely this inference. We want a more thorough examination of the country, and a larger collection of documents before we can trust absolutely the conclusion which seems to me to be probable.

This inscription is in itself so quaint, and the varieties of spelling are so remarkable, that I add the whole three in the original. The correct Greek would be,—

τὸν Θεὸν σὺ μὴ ἀδικήσῃς (or ἀδικήσεις)

but it appears in the following variations—

τὸν σεὸν σοὶ μὴ ἀδι[κ]ήσεις

τὸν οσὸν σοὶ μὴ ἀδικήσεις

τὸν θεὸν σοὶ μὴ [α]δικαίσεις

All are engraved in the most careless and rude letters, but not in the form which would imply a late date: the spelling *οι* for *υ* and *αι* for *η* are common faults.

What then is the meaning of this quaint phrase, "Thou shalt not wrong God"? It was customary on pagan grave-stones to add a curse against any one who violated the tomb by putting in it any other body except certain specified persons. A penalty was threatened in case of disobedience to the injunctions of the maker of the tomb; sometimes the penalty was the wrath of the infernal gods,

or a curse of early death imprecated on the offender or his children, or a fine payable to the Roman treasury or to the city treasury, or to some temple or public body; the aim of the fines being to make it worth while for some public body to prosecute the offender and profit by the penalty. The Christians seem to have had a prejudice against these penalties; in a few cases they threaten a fine, but in general they either threaten no definite penalty, or they appeal to God (ὁ Θεός). In the southern group a formula was very frequently used that the offender "will have to reckon with God," but this formula is unknown in the north-western country: there the formula of which we have just quoted three examples seems to take its place, and the intention is that the stone says to all, "thou shalt not wrong God, by violating this tomb." Remarks supposed to be addressed to reader or passer by are very common in Greek epitaphs.

There is no satisfactory clue to the date of these three inscriptions. They are however probably all of one period, and that period the third century, as I infer from the style and the general similarity of the stones. They are of the regular type of the grave-stones which were employed then by the non-Christian population. They were evidently bought in a stone-cutter's yard, where they were kept in stock by the dozen, ready made, in trifling varieties. The similarity of the stones makes it probable that they were all made by the same stonecutter, though two are now at Kutaya and one far away in the south of the district inhabited by the Prepenisseis.

It is probable that a person from the country was sent to the great town of Cotiaion to buy a fine tombstone, and hence one is found about thirty miles away from the other two: the other alternative, that the two stones now at Cotiaion have been carried there from the Prepenisseis, is to be rejected, because this kind of tombstone is specially common in Cotiaion, and must have been made there in

great numbers. Their large size and the sculptures which adorn them must have made them expensive, especially as the material is a fine, white marble. They can therefore have been bought only by families of some wealth.

As an example of the manners of the time, I will try to describe the situation when one of these stones was brought into use. A man named Hopeful, like one of Bunyan's heroes (Elpizon in Greek), had lost his wife Cyrilla, and went to buy one of the handsomest grave-stones that could be procured. The stone-cutter to whom he went showed him a number of specimens in his best style—all were adorned with sculptures in relief. The sculptures were to our taste somewhat rude in execution, and monotonous in style and design. They represented one, two, or three figures in two styles, half-length and full-length. If there were two or three figures they stood side by side all in the same attitude, with one hand in the bosom of their garment and the other hanging by their side. Sometimes one or more children stood beside or between them. The only variation was in the number of figures. In this respect an attempt was made to suit the needs of all comers; but the stone-cutter did not expect that his customers would wish to bury more than three grown up persons, and limited his designs accordingly. A blank space was left for the inscription, and in cases where an inscription was needed too long for the prepared space, the last words were squeezed into some other part of the stone. In this case however, Elpizon wished to commemorate five children as well as his wife. Three of them were his own children; two were merely brought up in his household—his wife's children by a previous marriage. He was obliged therefore to be content with a stone which did not exactly correspond to the commemorative inscription, containing one grown up figure and two children. The inscription was composed in verse. The author, not being quite equal to the task of composing

an original poem, took a model, and changed the names to suit his own family. This somewhat spoiled the metre, but such as it is he has left us a poem of five halting hexameters and a few words overlapping the last line.

“This everlasting monument a man founded to his wife, Elpizon to Cyrilla, and to five children untimely dead, two adopted, born of another marriage of Cyrilla, and three his own offspring, Zoilos and a daughter Tatiane and the bride (of Zoilos) Cyrilla, who all died young, and he himself to himself in his lifetime. Ammias and Cyrilla and Tatianes.”

It is an interesting point that the adoptive children are mentioned before Elpizon's own children: this order is not uncommon in Phrygian inscriptions. The names of all the children are given, and even the name of the wife of the adopted son; the last three names, the three daughters of Elpizon, are added in a separate line in the upper left corner of the stone. Amid a good deal of conventional society manners of a rather provincial character there is a touch of family affection in the whole which lends it something of naturalness and rouses our interest. At the top the open book and the quaint words, “*Thou shalt not wrong God,*” distinguish it from many almost identical neighbours, and mark it as Christian.

11. A curious phrase on a tombstone of Acmonia seems to indicate Christianity. Acmonia is a border city between the two groups, and no other Christian inscription earlier than the time of Constantine has been found there to connect with either group. The tombstone is a very ornate example of a type which I have not elsewhere known to be used by Christians, though it is very common in all parts of Phrygia. It represents a door, presumably the door of the temple in which the dead persons, who are worshipped by their descendants as gods, reside. The inscription proper has not survived, but on the door-posts the words—

“They live, having escaped a great danger,”



were inscribed in small letters. The Greek words form an iambic senarius: ζῶσω μέγαν κίνδυνον ἐκπεφευγότες. The words savour more of a Christian than a pagan view of death.

12. An interesting question arises: Do the inscriptions throw any light on the organization of the Churches in the district? Only one inscription of the northern group relates to this subject. It is engraved on a stone, whose surface has been carefully defaced; it was originally very deeply and clearly engraved in fine letters of the third century, but most of the letters are now mutilated, and have to be guessed from small parts of them that can still be seen. In addition, the Greek is bad, the construction awkward and ungrammatical, and the spelling bad, so that the sense is in some places obscured beyond my powers of divination.

"The tomb which you behold, stranger, contains Aquilas, beloved [by men?] and by the angels of God, a leader of the people, and wont to entertain just thoughts, he came to the mansion of God, great in honours, and to his rest.

"And in my house I left my wife Cyrilla; and their children Trophimus and Patricius and Cyrillus<sup>1</sup> mindful made (the grave) with their mother and their wives, who were named Ammia, in remembrance."

There are many interesting points in this document. The distinction of class, people and leader or president, laity and clergy, is drawn, and even the technical term "laity" is used (λαός), but I have refrained from using it in the text, not wishing positively to assert that the writer used it in its technical sense. I do not however think there can be any real doubt, for the verb as well as the noun is the technical term, which was used of the relation between the priest or bishop and his people (λαοῦ προστάμενον). It is therefore practically certain that we have here the epitaph

<sup>1</sup> After the names is a line which I cannot bring into the construction, though the reading is practically certain, μέσσω ναοῖς θεός [δ]ῶκεν κλέος ἀφθιτον ἐν [u]ερόπεσσι[ν]. It is intended as a hexameter!! The writer substituted μέσσω ναοῖς θεός for some other words in the line which served him as a model and thus ruined the metre.

of a bishop, who died amid the veneration of his congregation, and amid circumstances which led them to pay special honour to him. It is greatly to be regretted that several words are lost, for the peculiar phraseology makes this inscription one of the most interesting of the series.

The remarks made above about the distinctive Christian nomenclature of No. 7 show that this inscription is not very early; on the other hand it has nothing of a thoroughly developed and stereotyped character about it. The expression, though tending to the regular formal technicality of the later Christian inscriptions, is still fluid, showing life and growth. The age of the inscription may be best determined by comparison with a post-Constantine inscription of Cotiaion, "*Eutychianus, who was honoured by the priesthood and the laity and glorified by God: to him in remembrance his wife Nikostrate and the children (erected the tomb).*" Here the expression has become technical and stereotyped, and shows a later age and more advanced style. Yet this later inscription still belongs to the period when the heathen party was a living power, for the expression is moulded in opposition to a pagan formula employed at Cotiaion on tombstones, "*honoured by Hecate, the Saving Goddess.*" The later inscription then is probably not later than the middle of the fourth century. Chance has preserved to us a long and curious inscription on the opposite side, showing that the expression of the pagans in the final controversy between the two religions was quite as much influenced by Christian language, as the Christians were by the pagans. It is too long to quote here,<sup>1</sup> but its phraseology shows that the Cotiaion inscription must not be placed much later. It is luckily dated A.D. 314. I therefore place the inscription of Aquilas confidently in the early part of the third century, and see

<sup>1</sup> I have published it in my "Cities and Bishoprics," part I., No. 33, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883.

in him a bishop of Prepenissos, who had been a leader and guide to his people (possibly even a martyr) during the troubled time of the great persecution 303-13, A.D.

I have already mentioned that the one episode in Phrygian church history on which Eusebius gives any details is the heresy of Montanus and the controversy which it roused. Now I shall show, in due course, that the inscriptions of the district where this controversy was most acute refer to the very persons who took part in that controversy. The general probability may be inferred from this example that the inscriptions refer to prominent members of the Christian community, who were leaders in the provincial movements; and it is probable that if history had taken any note of the Christian movement in north-western Phrygia, Aquilas would be a prominent figure in it.

These are the only Christian inscriptions of northern Phrygia which can be safely placed earlier than 320 A.D. The number is small, but from them we have learned something about the state of religion and society in the country between 200 and 300 A.D. They have been picked up in the course of a few days' rapid travel across the country; and they give some conception of what might be discovered by a careful search. And this must be done quickly, if it be done at all, for the old marbles are being destroyed every year. I have myself copied many inscriptions in the hands of masons or of stone-cutters; a few days later these stones were built into new walls, or cut up and smoothed to make modern grave-stones. In the great cities of Asia Minor, ancient monuments are made down into grave-stones by the score every year, and the supply is not inexhaustible. I have known cases of large blocks of marble being brought from an ancient site more than thirty miles distant across the mountains, to be cut up at Kutaya. At the present day Asia Minor is on the eve of a new start in life and activity. Railways are penetrating the country, and carrying with

them a spirit of energy and utilitarianism, which is the worst enemy of ancient monuments. The eleventh inscription which I have given above, was copied by me in Nov., 1881, half buried in the ground beside a fountain on a bypath across the hills. In July, 1883, it was seen and re-copied by a friend of mine in a wagon half way on the road to a large town about twenty-one miles distant, and it was certainly used up a few days later.

I should here mention the only examples known to me of Christian expressions in Asia Minor similar to those which have been enumerated. None exist in the other parts of Phrygia. In Apollonia, a city of Pisidia, in the Roman province Galatia, and in Corycos, a city of Cilicia, the word "Christian" occurs, but it is in the genitive case, and is not really the same formula which we have seen above. In Antioch of Pisidia, also, a closer parallel occurs to the other formula, in which we detected a Christian origin: "Artemeis to his wife Ia Manto, in remembrance: thou shalt not wrong God." The words are the same, but much better spelt, and written continuously with the epitaph, instead of being put apart in a corner of the grave-stone.<sup>1</sup>

What then was the origin of this peculiar Christianity of north-western Phrygia? No direct evidence exists, but as it is so clearly distinct from the southern Phrygian Church movement, it must have come from the north. The great strength of Christianity in Bithynia, to the north of Phrygia, attested by Pliny as early as 102 A.D., occurs to us as probably a connected phenomenon. Bithynian Christians would naturally pass down by way of Cotiaion to the Prepenisseis; this was the most natural road for their missionary enterprise to take. A slight positive pre-

<sup>1</sup> Of these three inscriptions, the first is published by Prof. Sterrett, who has not read the word "*χρηστιανοῦ*," which I can attest; the second is C. I. G., No. 9172; the third is published by Prof. Sterrett, who has transliterated different'y, and has therefore not given the formula (Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, No. 555; *Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, No. 142).



sumption in favour of the connexion is furnished by a passage in the biography of a Bithynian saint, Zeno of Nicomedeia, "I have buried my wife, a Christian, but I have sons who are Christians with me." This sounds like a reminiscence of the formula "Christians to Christians."

In the biography of another Bithynian saint, Hypatius, of the monastery Rufiniana, near Chalcedon, who flourished about 400 to 450 A.D., it is said that the clergy of the few Phrygian Churches "were rather stupid, as is natural in a country district," and therefore Hypatius, though a native of Phrygia, went away to Thrace to get a religious education.<sup>1</sup> This account corresponds with all that we have learned about north-western Phrygia; it suggests, what geographical circumstances make probable, that the Bithynians knew only one district of Phrygia.

Tradition in the early part of the fifth century derived this Bithynian movement from a visit of Paul and Silas. In the *Acta* of Philetærus the Bithynian Martyr (May 19th) mention is made of a church at a place Poketos, between the Rhyndacus and Cyzicus, which was dedicated, according to tradition, by Paul the Apostle and Silas, when they visited the Troad. Philetærus died in the persecution of Diocletian, and the *Acta* profess to be written at the time by Anthimus, Theodorus, and Carterius, pretending outwardly to be philosophers, dreading to be known as Christians. This is a "pious fraud," the *Acta* are clearly later; but they seem to be not later than the time when paganism was still a living power, and they contain some interesting information about the Bithynian country and old religion. Hence I think they are not likely to be much later in composition than A.D. 400 to 450.

One interesting group of Christian remains of a later date

<sup>1</sup> The biography purports to have been written by his disciple Callinicus, and to have been worked up by another hand in the time of the third successor of Hypatius in the headship of the monastery.

exists among the mountains of northern Phrygia, round the cities of Docimion, Meros, and Metropolis. Here we find numerous graves, chapels, and churches, cut out of the living rock. They seem to belong to the age of hermits and anchorets. Some of them are of interest architecturally; and on one of the rock churches there are considerable remains of a large wall-painting, which must be at least older than the Mohammedan conquest in the eleventh century. I shall here describe only one of these rock-cuttings, because it so clearly indicates its origin. There is a very remarkable monument of the eighth or ninth century before Christ carved on a lofty conical rock. In the back of this smooth and steep rock, about half-way up, a rude little chapel has been cut; above the chapel there is a series of holes, by the aid of which it is possible to ascend to the top of the rock, where there is a tiny platform. There are no holes below the chapel, and without help it is impossible to reach it. The place has all the appearance of having once being the abode of a hermit of the style of Simeon Stylites, who spent his life partly on the summit of the rock, and partly in the chapel below.

The style of epitaphs and other memorials customary in this district, in the centuries between Constantine and the Turkish conquest may be briefly alluded to. To the fourth, fifth, and later centuries belong various classes of inscriptions in stereotyped formulæ, identical with those found all over Asia Minor.

1. "On account of the prayer of Patricius and Trophimus, the presbyters," is engraved on a small column. In another village we find on a block of marble, with a large cross in relief, "On account of the prayer of Tryphon and of his wife Ariagne, Lord, help, and of all their household." A similar stone mentions Zoticus, an anagnostes, or reader. Numerous examples of this formula occur.

2. All inscriptions known to me, which mention pres-

byters, or readers, or virgins, or deacons, or deaconesses, are of the post-Constantine period, marked as such by various criteria of style, lettering, etc., and occasionally by actual dating. The constitution of the Church in Phrygia was evidently more settled in fixed and well-marked grades in the fourth century, than in the third, and moreover the general fear to proclaim their religion too openly would prevent such titles as presbyter from being engraved on tombs. So far as I know, the title "bishop" occurs only once on a Phrygian inscription, which is probably of the fourth century. The contrast between the numerous presbyters and the single bishop is to be explained by the frequent equivalence of the two titles in early time; the evidence clearly points to the conclusion that the term presbyter was much more commonly used in Phrygia than bishop, to denote the head of the Church in each district. In the case quoted above, however, *presbyter* is evidently used in the stricter sense distinguished from bishop, as two presbyters are mentioned.

3. A longer formula is also found, "on behalf of the prayer and the safety of Eunomius and of all his house." This and the preceding formula are often placed on stones or columns intended for use in churches, and record the completion of some repair or the building of some part of the church.

4. "Save, Lord, thy servant Constantine, the presbyter, son of Photinus," is an example of a less common opening, whereas—

5. "Lord, help," is a much commoner way of beginning an inscription, and

6. "God, help," is nearly as common.

7. "The servant of God" is one of the commonest expressions, and may be taken, like all the other forms quoted, as a certain indication of late date.

8. "Here lies (*ἐνθά κατάκειται*)" is very common; it is

often united with the last, as "Here lies the servant of God, Anastasius." It came into use after Constantine, and soon became the regular commencement of epitaphs. In the district which has just been described, I have not met any example of this formula, but this must be merely accidental. It is too widely spread to have been unknown in north-western Phrygia, and provincial differences gave way during the fourth century to a uniformity of church character.

9. A cross followed by a name in the genitive is another common form of epitaph in late time.

10. Sporadic formula, such as "Pardon our sins," "a vow to God," and numerous others, all couched in precise and thoroughly scriptural terms. Among these I may especially mention various uses of the words connected with "sleep" and "rest" (*κοιμάομαι* and *ἀναπαύομαι*), though we have seen above an example of "rest" (*ἀνάπαυσις*) as early as 300-20 A.D.

There is a marked difference between the later and the earlier inscriptions. There is in the older a freedom and individuality and variety which are entirely wanting in the later. The later epitaphs are expressed in a few formulæ, which convey to us no information beyond the name of the deceased, and his relation to his God or to the Church. The difference is only one of many symptoms due to the same cause, *viz.* the changed system of provincial government under the constitution consolidated by Diocletian about A.D. 297. Government was now centralized, the municipal self-government which the older Roman system had encouraged ceased to be a reality, and the imperial government became all in all. The citizens began more and more to feel themselves merely "servants of the emperor" in politics, "servants of God" in religion, devoid of individuality and mere units in a powerful system.

W. M. RAMSAY.

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## *THE PARABLE OF THE LOST SON.*

*A STUDY OF LUKE XV. 11-32.*

EXEGESIS is not much in request here. There is perhaps no page in the Bible which comes home so perfectly to the understanding of every human being. Tell the story to a group of the most savage of our sunken classes, without a word of explanation, it will draw tears from eyes unused to weeping and find its way to hearts long seared to human sympathy. They will urge its repetition. And when the visit is renewed, "untired they will ask it again." It is so human. There is so much in it that touches the very nerve of man's misery. No need to explain Eastern or ancient manners here. The story never grows old, alas! nor unintelligible. The sad fact in human households on which it is based is only too familiar. Have we not all seen such a youth set out from home in the full tide of health and happiness, hastening to the great city or the foreign shore? Then, from time to time, rumours would find their way to his native place that all was not right, that his habits were being rapidly corrupted;—until at length there has come the sudden report of a miserable end, or the pallid and shattered invalid,—a moral wreck,—has returned to bring down the parents' grey hairs with quicker sorrow to the grave.

But human as the story is, the parable is truly Divine. A shepherd will go after his lost sheep, though it be but one in a hundred. A woman will make diligent search for her one lost piece of silver out of ten. But their feelings are as nothing to those of the fond father who yearns for his erring son. Let us view the love of God through the glass of human affection at its brightest and best. Never is man so likely to forgive, as when the wandered

child comes home. Take man—a father—in the hour when his heart is readiest to melt and to pardon—at that ecstatic moment when the long-lost one, weary and wretched, falls upon his bosom repenting. Believe that there you have a likeness of our Father in heaven, rich in mercy, ready to forgive; only that His boundless patience and His fathomless love for us sinners are as far above even this likeness as the heavens are above the earth. So we get at the meaning of this Crown and Pearl of our Lord's parables—this Gospel within the Gospel—an unfailing text from which to declare mercy for the chief of sinners, a door of hope and a place for repentance to the uttermost and to the last.

There are three distinct pictures, or compartments rather, in the one composition: the Prodigal's Progress; the Penitent's Return, and the Elder Brother; in which last the Master's design is fully revealed.

## I.

### THE PRODIGAL'S PROGRESS.

*"A certain man had two sons."* It is of the younger, who is usually called "the prodigal"—"the sinner," that we are now to speak. That there is much of sinful human nature to be found in the portraiture of the elder brother we shall see. For though we take the prodigal as the portrait of every sinner in his departure from God, no doubt it is the "publican" type of sinner—the man whose "sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment," that is immediately in view. We are all familiar with the two classes of men depicted in these two brothers. The elder brother is "an austere man." He passes for a character irreproachable in the common acceptance. The people who see most of him like him least. He has a proud and sullen temper and a firm grasp of the world. But no one

can lay much to his charge. He keeps his character for piety. He stands high in the estimation of the religious public. But we pass him by at present. His sins are of another order; "they follow after." The younger brother is a universal favourite. He is so gay, so frank, so merry. He has a fine, generous temper; a bold, free carriage; an openness of hand and heart that win him ready favour and applause. "To be sure," they say, "he is a free liver as well, and far from prudent, yet he has a kind heart." Would they but look a little deeper, they would find a character not so noble, nor generous. Instead of finding in this reckless youth one who was "nobody's enemy but his own," we find one who weakly and meanly sacrifices every interest to the selfish gratification of his own appetites and passions, and returns ill for good to those who have heaped treasures of affection on his ungrateful head.

Ver. 12. "*And the younger of them said, . . . And he divided unto them his living.*"<sup>1</sup> "Give me the portion of goods!" Is that a noble and generous temper? Mark the petulant demand, the cold-blooded legal technicality, as if it were a matter of right, the grasping selfishness, the want of natural affection that he could insult such a father to his face with an open expression of his desire to be rid of him. A *post-obit* will not serve this youth. He must carry off his father's possessions in his lifetime. He has such a dislike of the restraints of his father's presence and care, that nothing will satisfy him but to be loosened at once and remove where he may indulge himself without a check and see his father no more. "Shame upon him," we say,

<sup>1</sup> Δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. Notice the Hebrew law of patrimony (Deut. xxi. 17). The elder son gets a double share, the younger a single. How this bears upon the elder we shall see. Meanwhile, the younger asks the father to hand over at once to his free disposal what would fall to him in due time by the law of inheritance. The father fully complies with the request, for he divides to both sons (τὸν βίον) his substance, paying over to the younger his share, while appointing the bulk of his property to the elder, who abides with him in the house, as chief heir. See Goebel.

“for an unnatural and selfish creature, not worthy to be called a child!” But does not conscience say to each of us “Thou art the man”? This is our own portrait, drawn by the hand of God’s one, true, eternal Son. So He tells how we have cast off our sonship and denied the Fatherhood of God. This is sin’s beginning and bitter root—REBELLION. It is the false self-sufficiency of man. The insane desire to set up for life and happiness apart from God, upon “the portion of goods that falleth to him” from God; a folly bound up in the sinful heart of every child of Adam. The primeval lie on which all sin-palaces of the soul are built is, that my chief end is the doing of my own will and the gratification of my own nature. When once I have believed that lie, and am given over to that delusion, comes the death of all filial love to God—the insatiable thirst for pleasure that will be gratified even over the barriers of law, human and Divine. Thus begins the prodigal’s course with the words, “Give me the portion of goods that falleth to me.” “Give us this day our daily bread” is another language altogether. It is the children’s prayer. It is the voice of those who are returned unto their Father, who, even in this life, are by faith at home with Him, feed daily at His table, and in the grace of faith ask no more than daily bread. The sinful heart wants to be self-sufficient, to have its dowry at its own disposal—its fortune and happiness in its own hands. It will have all now, and nothing in reversion. And as that father in the story, so the Supreme Father seems at times to act. God gives such a man over to his folly. The Divine Spirit ceases to strive against the waywardness of the spoiled heart, hands him over to another of His ministers, His providential justice; yet leaves Himself a door by which to revisit the soul when its sin shall have found it out.

Ver. 13. “*And not many days after . . . a far*



country." This is the second step of the prodigal's career. That first movement of inward rebellion against dependence and restraint is soon followed by open departure from the father's house. The one soon follows on the other. The aversion of the heart precedes, but not long, the apostasy of the life. "He gathered all together," turned everything into money, that he might carry it off and have it in hand, "and took his journey," proving that license and unworthy liberty was his aim. The estrangement of heart from his father showed itself by putting speedily as great a distance as possible between himself and his father's house.

Here again we have the likeness of our sin, its APOSTASY or departure from God, as before we had of its revolt against God. Man collects all his energies and powers, to carry them far off from God and spend them on himself. He takes his journey into a world of his own, walking where God is not,—“not in all his thoughts.” For his “far country” is his forgetting of God, not God's absence from him (Aug.). It is man that is by sin “without God in the world,” though “He is not far from every one of us.” Men “worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator,” who all the while has “left not Himself without witness.”

“*And there wasted his substance with riotous living.*”<sup>1</sup> The young man is now fairly his own master, he has got his patrimony into his own hand, he has got rid of the restraints of his father's house and presence, has arrived at his self-chosen land of promise, and now that he is “lord of himself” will find it soon enough to be—

“ . . . that heritage of woe,  
That fearful empire which the human breast  
But holds to rob the heart within of rest.”

<sup>1</sup> ζῶν ἀσώτως, “with prodigal living” has been suggested; for this phrase has given title to the parable. Ὁ υἱὸς ἀσώτος is *Filius perditus* or *prodigus*—the Prodigal Son.

At first, indeed, it promises well. There is nothing now to restrain, no father's eye to check him, no pure and gentle mother to save him. He has burst all bonds. And, in his own sense, it is well with him. It is the height and summit of his joy. It is the sparkling wine-cup of his mirth, that tickles the palate and maddens the brain and leads him to quaff another and another draught. Yet, already it begins to bite, almost before it has begun to please, for he soon discovers that his happiness is transitory—the means of it is melting away. He there “scattered” (διασκορπίσεν) “his substance.” The word is used in a sharp, ironical contrast to his former “gathering” (συναγαγὼν) “all together.” This selfish, grasping youth turns out a spendthrift. He has lighted the candle at both ends, and already darkness and dismay are approaching with rapid strides.

Thus our Lord paints the climax of sin—its PROFLIGACY. The sinner may flatter himself, for a time, that he is doing well at a distance from God, that he is sufficient unto himself; yet all the while, by indulging, he is exhausting himself and hastening with rapid strides from the height of his folly to the depth of his misery. “Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunk then that which is worse.” Most true of the cup which Satan puts into the sinner's hand. It has a sparkle on the surface, a paltry flicker of joy at the beginning, but afterwards comes “that which is worse.” So it was with the prodigal. First it looked like good wine, —freedom, plenty, liberal spending, brave enjoying,—the after-cup is of a very different flavour. For now we come to his *misery*.

Ver. 14. “*And when he had spent all . . . he began to be in want.*” The first step of the penalty which sin pays is put very significantly in the case of this youth. There is in it that “irony of providence” which startles us

so often in the experience of real life. Would it not have been enough to say that he soon spent his all and was allowed to find the bottom of his purse and of his appetite? The land and people around him might still have had plenty, and perhaps have helped him. But, no! just at that juncture "there arose a mighty famine in that land." It is always so. The famine comes upon the sinner's chosen country, just when he wants it to be a land of plenty. In other words, his extremity is the world's opportunity to desert him. "Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast thee off." "It shall be broken in pieces." A golden calf the worshipper made it. Much he has spent on it and offered to it. But in the day of his calamity he finds it a dumb and mocking idol, or, in just retribution, pounded into bitter dust which mingles with the draught of his misery. The thing on which he spent himself and in which he trusted turns round upon him and becomes his punishment.

Ver. 15. "*And he went and joined himself . . . to feed swine.*" The second step in sin's punishment is, when it brings forth more sin. Wrong-doing has brought suffering in the first instance; and now suffering, instead of leading at once to repentance, often plunges the man deeper into his folly. The youth is down, but his heart is unbroken, his pride unhumbled. Beggared though he be, he will not yet brook to go back a suppliant to his father's door. He has chosen for himself. He will stick to his choice. He tries hard to make the "far country"—famine-stricken though he now finds it—"his home." He went and "*pinned himself to a citizen of that country.*" "The word (ἐκολλήθη) intimates that the citizen would fain have repelled him, and was induced to take him into his service only by urgent entreaty" (Goebel). He has been vile, he will yet be more vile. But he can hardly have been prepared for the utter degradation which his self-chosen master

imposed upon him—degradation, to the Jewish mind, the most extreme which could be conceived, that he, the son of a Hebrew family, should be a swine-herd.

Our Lord has here depicted the mystery of sin and its servitude in these successive steps:—the reluctance to confess our wrong and to return, even when punishment has begun; the proud refusal of the heart to go back to the offended Father; the mad resolve to go on sinning, to wring the wine of pleasure out of the bitter dregs of iniquity; the recourse to the world itself to drown the misery and feed the famishing soul! What sad and humbling truth too there is here, as to the altered relation of the sinner to his sin! He came into that land a lord, and used its joys to minister to his pleasure. He remains in it a slave and the drudge of his own evil. He began a rioter at the devil's table. He ends a thrall in the devil's service. How unsuspectingly he is ensnared! How unconsciously has he slid from depth to deeper depth, to a fall within a fall, till at last he reaches the lowest to which sin and misery combined can bring him in this world!

Ver. 16. "*And he would fain, . . . and no man gave unto him.*"—No picture of destitution could be more complete. The son of a Jew and a man of position reduced to the rank of a feeder of swine, is almost as far as language could go; when, with inimitable art, is added this particular. So abject was the poverty of this poor wretch at last, that he was fain to stave off absolute starvation by partly feeding with his charge. No man cared for him so as to give him aught better. To such a pass has our fair youth come, who set out, a short while since, so bravely from his father's house: first, to want begun, then to slavery and degradation; last of all, to utter destitution and hunger unsated for the food of beasts could not appease the man's craving.

Translated into the moral region, the description is supremely graphic, as to sin bringing its own punishment.



Do we need to be reminded that it is literally applicable to some kinds of sin? In the nervous language of Coleridge, the downward course of the victim of appetite "has not even the gleam of an expected pleasure before to tempt it forward, but only the spur of an inexorable craving from behind, that urges it as with the goad of destiny." But take the picture in its whole breadth. The degradation of this gentleman's son is a description of the misery of man's fallen nature—a fall so deep because of the greatness of the original and because of the height for which it was first fitted. According to this parable, our state of Sin is Rebellion against God's fatherhood, Removal from our Father's house, and Wasting of our Father's goods. Our consequent Misery is Poverty, Slavery, and Starvation. We are spiritually lost, dead, and beside ourselves. Is the picture overdrawn? Surely He who drew it knew what was in man at his best and at his worst; knew also what is in God. Therefore He spared no darkest line, that this might be a parable for all sorts of sinners; to show that no departure from God makes return impossible, to witness that "He is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God through Him."

J. LAIDLAW.

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## THE MELCHIZEDEK OR HEAVENLY PRIESTHOOD OF OUR LORD.

### PART I.

THE general idea of the priesthood is fulfilled in Christ and in His Church. Upon that point it is unnecessary to say more. But we shall form a very imperfect impression of the priestly character both of our Lord and of the members of His body, if we do not inquire more particularly into the time when the priesthood of the former began, as well as into those characteristics by which, while it “accomplishes” the idea of the Aaronic priesthood, it is yet exalted above it. Only thus, too, shall we be able to understand the priesthood of the Church, the nature of which is entirely dependent upon that of the priesthood of her Lord.

Turning then to these points, the first question to be answered is, When did the real Priesthood of our Lord begin? With His life on earth, with the cross, or with His resurrection and glorification? The question has been spoken of by Prof. Davidson as if it possessed little more than a historical interest in connexion with the Socinian controversies; and as if, when separated from them, it ceased to have the importance which it once possessed in the estimation of the Church.<sup>1</sup> It seems to us, on the contrary, one of the most urgent questions to which we can turn our thoughts; and one the answer to which, if grounded solely in critical and exegetical inquiry, cannot fail to exercise a commanding influence over the manner in which we either conceive to ourselves, or state to others, the plan of our salvation. When then did the priesthood of our Lord begin?

<sup>1</sup> *On the Hebrews*, pp. 146, 147.

This question cannot be satisfactorily answered without first endeavouring to form some clear idea of what is meant by the sacred writers, when they speak of our Lord as a priest "after the order of Melchizedek," and not of Aaron; and we are the more called upon to inquire into this point because, in the only passages of Scripture in which the priesthoods of Melchizedek and of our Lord are compared with one another—in Psalm cx., and in the Epistle to the Hebrews—the comparison is obviously regarded as of the greatest possible interest and moment.

To the psalmist it is the very centre or kernel of his Psalm, that Psalm upon which our Lord so emphatically set His seal in Matt. xxii. 43-45, and which in the New Testament is more frequently quoted than any other single portion of the ancient Scriptures. In the words of Perowne, who makes also the last remark, the language of the fourth verse, "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent; Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," "contains the great central revelation of the Psalm. How weighty it is, and of how vast import, may be inferred from the solemnity of the introduction, 'Jehovah hath sworn,' and this is carried to the very highest pitch by the addition of the words, 'and will not repent,' *i.e.* the decree is absolutely immutable. It is the solemn inauguration of the Messiah in time to the priestly office. It is the first intimation of the union of the kingly and priestly functions in His person."<sup>1</sup>

Professor Forbes, in his recently published studies upon the structural arrangement of the Psalms, which throw so much fresh light upon their meaning, takes a similar view. "Ps. cx.," he says, "closes the Davidic trilogy, Ps. cviii. recounting the Divine promises to Israel's king and people, Ps. cix. 'the sufferings of the Christ,' and Ps. cx. 'the glories that should follow.' Its strophical arrangement,

<sup>1</sup> Perowne, *in loc.*

consisting as it does of seven verses, accords with the usual division of the *seven*, three verses on either side being arranged around a central verse (ver. 4), which forms the connecting heart of the whole."<sup>1</sup>

The writer of the Epistle again is not less impressed with the weight and grandeur of the theme. No sooner does he enter upon that high priesthood of Christ, which is mainly to engage his thoughts, than he turns to this special characteristic of it, in connexion with each of the two prerequisites essential to the vindication of any priesthood that can be recognised as true. For, first, the fact that our Lord did not take upon Himself the high priesthood, but was *called of God* to it, is proved by this, that in Ps. cx. God had addressed Him in the words, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek"; while secondly, His ability to *sympathize with us*, gained through His learning obedience by the things which He suffered, so that, "having been made perfect, He became, unto all them that obey Him, the Author of eternal salvation," culminates in the statement that He was "named of God a high priest after the order of Melchizedek" (chap. v. 6, 10). Nor only so. When, at a later point, the same writer would describe the perfection of our hope by setting forth the glory of Him who has entered as our Forerunner within the veil, he does it in the words, "Having become a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek" (chap. v. 20). Once more, a large part of chapter vii. is occupied with the same topic, the priesthood after the order of Melchizedek being there explained to be a priesthood in every way greater in its nature, and more efficacious in its results, than one after the order of Aaron. Our conception of the priesthood of Christ must thus be largely dependent on our conception of the priesthood of Melchizedek.

A single sentence may recall the only circumstances

<sup>1</sup> Forbes, *Studies in the Book of Psalms*, p. 160.



known to us of this mysterious personage. In Gen. xiv. 18-20, when Abram was returning in triumph from his overthrow of the five kings by whom Lot, his nephew, had been attacked and spoiled, it is said, "And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was priest of God Most High. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth: and blessed be God Most High, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him a tenth of all." Who this Melchizedek was it is as needless to inquire as it is impossible to determine. One of the most important facts connected with him indeed is, that we know nothing of his genealogy. Had there been any revelation as to this, the writer of the Epistle could not have reasoned as he does. He turns, therefore, directly to the greatness of the man and of his priesthood.

First, to that mystery wrapped up in his name in which, following the analogy of so many names of the Old Testament and of the name of Christ Himself, he sees a Divine revelation regarding him, a revelation pregnant with most important inferences as to both his person and his work, and more especially as to the great ends to be accomplished by his priesthood. He is "king of righteousness," and then also "king of peace." He is the embodiment, so far as it is possible for man to be it, of the two greatest blessings that were to flow to men through Him of whom, in that very aspect, the Psalmist and the Prophets had spoken so often and in such glowing terms (Ps. lxxxv. 10; Isa. xi. 4-9). Righteousness and peace meet in him. The righteousness, too, precedes the peace. The personal precedes the governmental. Because Melchizedek reigns in righteousness he "also" reigns in peace.

Secondly, Melchizedek is free from all those limitations of sense and time, of beginning and ending, which are inseparably connected with the thought of human descent.

When it is said that he is "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life," nothing but an intolerable bondage to the letter can press a strictly literal interpretation. The words "without genealogy" are alone sufficient to show the direction in which the writer's thoughts are running; and the appellations employed by him are simply designed to lead us out of that region of the material and the temporal, within which the Jewish religion moved. In themselves they are of no more value than any others by which the same end might have been effected. Their influence is negative and privative. They transcend sense and time; and, no sooner do we leave sense and time behind us, than we are in the real which underlies the phenomenal, in the region of spirit and eternity. The principle is similar to that appearing in our Lord's words in John xii. 32 (words to which we shall by-and-by refer more particularly), "And I, if I be lifted on high out of (not 'from') the earth will draw all men unto Me!" Then, when this shall be the case, the bonds which confined Him during the period of His tabernacling in the flesh shall be snapped asunder; He will rise above the limitations involved in the particular form of His past humanity, and will become an inmate of that spiritual and unlimited sphere which is at once His rightful home and His seat of unrestricted power. Then, too, He will draw "*all men*" unto Him. It is not otherwise with the priesthood of Melchizedek. Dissociated from the thought of an earthly parentage, and from the beginning and ending of earthly life, it belongs to the real and the true which are beyond and behind all that we see. It springs out of eternity; to eternity it returns; when it rises before us we have no thought of either space or time.

Thirdly, Melchizedek was a priest anterior to the Judaic period, when the distinction between Jew and Gentile

had not yet been introduced. Perowne has noticed that Melchizedek's was a Gentile priesthood;<sup>1</sup> and there can be no doubt not only that it was so, but that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews was fully cognisant of the fact, and that he attached great importance to it. He shows this by the manner in which he contrasts him with Abraham and his descendants. The main point, however, is not so much that Melchizedek was a Gentile. That is simply an introduction to the leading thought, which is that, being a Gentile, he was above the limited sphere of the Jewish economy, with its temporary provisions and aims, and that he belonged to a higher and better, a more spiritual and universal, sphere than that within which, for purposes subsidiary to the welfare of mankind, Israel had been confined. The principle thus proceeded on has a striking illustration, in the words with which our Lord replied to the Pharisees who urged, in relation to divorce, that Moses had commanded to give the wife a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. "He saith unto them, Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives; but *from the beginning* it hath not been so" (Matt. xix. 8). There is a Divine order older, larger, more universal, more enduring than that of Moses, and one therefore in which the ultimate purpose of God is more directly manifested. The economy brought in through Moses was a limitation of that better plan, rendered necessary by circumstances, and temporary in duration. For the real plan of God we must look to His dealings with mankind before the days of Moses, when the limitations were introduced. The same principle is applicable to the point with which we are now dealing. As the sacred writer had beheld in Melchizedek the head of a spiritual and eternal, so he now beholds in him the head of a universal, priesthood. It is of the utmost consequence to him, not simply that Mel-

<sup>1</sup> On Psalm cx. 4.

chizedek was heathen, but that he belonged to a date when the distinction between Jew and heathen was unknown, when he could exercise a priesthood wide as the world, and when no member of the human family was excluded from participation in his priestly blessing.

Fourthly, as a priest, Melchizedek is higher than any priest of the line of Aaron. After what had been said, this point, it may be thought, might have been left to be inferred by the readers of the Epistle. But it was too important to be left to inference. Hence the words of Heb. vii. 4-10. In the moment of his triumph, flushed with victory, returning from the slaughter of the kings, Abraham, the patriarch, he that had the promises, gave Melchizedek "a tenth out of the chief spoils." What a token of submission on the one side! what a proof of greatness on the other! Nay, more. In the act of paying these tithes, Abraham *acknowledged* the universalism of that priesthood to which he offered homage. "The sons of Levi that receive the priest's office have commandment to take tithes of the people according to the law, that is, of their brethren"; and beyond them the sons of Levi might not go. It would have been unlawful for them even to receive a tithe from those who did not belong to "the people," and with whom therefore they were connected by no religious ties. But both Abraham and Melchizedek knew that there was no such restriction in their case. The former owned an element of universal supremacy in the latter. The latter, conscious of the dignity of his position, "received" the homage of the former. Still further, not only did Abraham thus pay tithe to Melchizedek, but, "so to say, through Abraham even Levi, who receiveth tithes, hath paid tithes; for he was yet in the loins of his father, when Melchizedek met him." It was a perpetual and ever present proof of the honour put by the God of Israel upon His priestly tribe, that the people were tithed for their support. Here the



head of the priestly tribe itself may be said to have paid tithes in Abraham, and to have confessed his inferiority to him to whom he paid them.

Lastly, Melchizedek "blessed," that is, pronounced his priestly blessing upon Abraham, and in him upon Levi, Aaron, and the whole line of the Aaronic priesthood, and "without any dispute the less is blessed of the greater."

In all these respects then the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews beholds the pre-eminent greatness of the priesthood of Melchizedek when compared with that of Aaron. It is more difficult to determine whether he also beholds in it the two spiritual characteristics of priesthood, of which he speaks in different passages of his Epistle,—that a true priest is ordained of God, and that he is able to sympathize with those on whose behalf he acts. The probability is, however, that he does; for, as to the first of these, he speaks of Melchizedek as "priest of God Most High," that is, as appointed by Him, and drawing his authority from Him; and, as to the second, it seems most likely that, when he refers to the blessing bestowed on Abraham, he has also in his mind, though he does not expressly mention it, that bringing forth of bread and wine which, in the narrative of Genesis, illustrates the human-hearted compassion of the priest for the exhausted warrior and his band of followers.

The considerations now adduced are of themselves sufficient to show that the priesthood of Christ could not have begun before His Glorification. Previous to that time, He was not in a condition to fulfil the requirements of the Melchizedek priesthood. He had been born "of the seed of David according to the flesh." He was in the strict sense of the word a Jew. He had "taken hold of the seed of Abraham" (Heb. ii. 16). He had declared that He was "not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. xv. 22). He was still involved in all the

restrictions alike of the material human body which He had assumed, and of the world of sense in which He moved; and, as it was only at His Glorification that these restrictions were laid aside, so it was only then that He could be a priest in that immaterial, spiritual, universal sense which the priesthood of Melchizedek had been designed to typify.

The question before us may however be approached also from the other side; and it may be argued that although subsequent to this Glorification, our Lord was a priest after the order of Melchizedek, He was still during His life on earth a priest in general, or, more particularly, a priest after the order of Aaron. The first of these two suppositions need not be discussed, for no priesthood of such a general kind existed, no claim to it was ever made; nor, if made, could it have been even for a moment recognised. In the very idea of priesthood lay also the idea of conformity to a plan appointed by God and acknowledged by man. Such a plan did not then exist except in the order of Melchizedek and the order of Aaron. If our Lord was a priest during His earthly ministry He must have been so as belonging to one or other of these two orders. But we have seen that, so long as He tabernacled in the flesh, He could not belong to the former. Could He then have belonged to the latter? This question must be answered in the negative. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has indeed placed the matter beyond dispute when, referring to the words of Ps. cx. 4, he says, "For He of whom these things are said belongeth to another tribe, from which no man hath given attendance at the altar. For it is evident that our Lord hath sprung out of Judah; as to which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priests" (Heb. vii. 13, 14). These words alone are fatal to the supposition that our Lord could ever have been an Aaronic priest or high priest. By the strictest and most solemn sanctions

the priesthood in Israel was confined to the members of the tribe of Levi. Had our Lord claimed to be an Aaronic priest the claim would have involved a positive breach of the Mosaic law, and would have been a violation instead of a fulfilling of "all righteousness." That our Lord never was an Aaronic priest is further demonstrated by the fact that if, in that capacity, He had made His great sacrifice upon the cross, then in the same capacity He must have presented it to His Father within the veil. It is not only in the highest degree unlikely that He should do the former of these acts as the priest of one order, and the latter as the priest of another order, but the supposition is at variance with the necessary sequence of the different priestly transactions regarded as a whole. Not the slaying of the victim, but the presenting of the blood, was the priestly act, and if therefore our Lord ever acted as an Aaronic priest, it must have been when He presented Himself with His offering to the Father within the heavenly sanctuary. Then must His Aaronic priesthood have appeared in its true force and culminating power. But this is precisely what the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is most concerned to deny. One of the leading points of his argument is, that with heaven, with the true tabernacle, the Aaronic priest had nothing to do. It was the distinguishing characteristic of the class of priests to which he belonged that they "served that which is a copy and shadow of the heavenly things." As Prof. Davidson has said, "the Aaronic priest ministers in the sanctuary of this world, the figure of the true, ix. 1, 23; if he could penetrate into 'heaven,' the true tabernacle, he would cease to be an Aaronic or figurative priest, he would be in the true presence of God, into which he could enter only in virtue of having made a true atonement, which no Aaronic priest could accomplish."<sup>1</sup> The conclusion is irresistible. Our Lord never was a priest after

<sup>1</sup> *On Hebrews*, p. 149.

the order of Aaron, but only after the higher and more glorious order of Melchizedek.

From this point of view, therefore, we are again brought to the conclusion formerly arrived at. No one, so far as we are aware, has ever argued that the Melchizedek priesthood of our Lord could be taken back to any part of His life of humiliation and suffering upon earth. If therefore He was a priest then, He must have been one after Aaron's order. This He at no time was or could be; and the only remaining conclusion is, that His priesthood began when He was glorified.

At this point, however, a most important difficulty arises, and one that has been much felt by eminent theologians. Let Freeman, in his able book on *The Principles of Divine Service*, be its exponent. Referring in a note<sup>1</sup> to the writings of Dr. Jackson, he says,—

“Similarly, Dr. Jackson (*Priesthood of Christ*, ix. chap. iv. 3) says: ‘Betwixt a priest complete, or actually consecrated, and no priest at all, there is a mean or third estate or condition, to wit, a priest *in fieri*, though not *in facto*, or a priest *inter consecrandum*, before he be completely and actually consecrated.’ And again, chap. xi. 5, ‘During the time of His humiliation He was rather destinated than consecrated to be the Author and fountain of blessedness unto us.’ This excellent writer, however, has involved himself in a difficulty, by insisting that Christ was not qualified to *act*, nor did act, as a priest at all, until after His Resurrection, appealing to Heb. v. 8–10. But though the seal of the Father's acceptance of His Priesthood was finally set by His Resurrection, it is unquestionable that His offering Himself upon the cross was a proper act of Priesthood. It was at once the act by which He consecrated Himself for His Priesthood (‘For their sakes I sanctify Myself,’ St. John xvii.), and by which He saved and sanctified the world (‘that they also may be sanctified’).”

Freeman's own view, accordingly, as explained partly in the text with which the above remarks are connected, and partly in an additional note,<sup>2</sup> seems to be, that the idea of dedication and offering entered into the incarnation, and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> p. 409.



into every act of the obedient sonship ; that by His presentation in the temple " our Lord did, in a mystery, prefer His claim to the priesthood of the world as the ' First born among many brethren,' " although He " did not by that action enter upon His priestly office " ; that there is " some appearance " also of our Lord's having at His baptism a more special designation to His priesthood ; and that " doubtless " all the actions of our Lord's ministry did more immediately pertain to His priesthood, and were " to be in due time gathered up into it as actions of especial power for man's salvation." All this, however, it is allowed did not make our Lord actually a priest. " Not until the very close of His ministry in the flesh did our Lord solemnly and by a set and suitable action enter upon His Priesthood." It is obvious that both Dr. Jackson and Canon Freeman have been met by the difficulty of which we have spoken, but they have not solved it. They cannot abandon the idea that on the cross our Lord made a priestly offering to God ; but the former invents the fiction of a mean between priest and no-priest ; the latter simply cuts the knot by alleging that Jesus *was* a Priest upon the cross, without laying down any clear line of distinction between that last great action and all the previous actions of His earthly life. The simple question, it will be seen, is this, Can we hold with the Church in all ages, and in harmony with the deepest convictions of the Christian heart, that in His death upon the cross Jesus as a Priest offered Himself in sacrifice ; and yet that, as a Priest after the order of Melchizedek, His priesthood only began with His Glorification ? Let the answer we are now to give this question not be too summarily dismissed. We ask for it only fair consideration. If correct, it hangs together with other important views of Christian truth.

The question then, as proposed above, must be answered in the affirmative, and it is St. John who supplies the

materials for the answer. In a text already referred to, and which we must translate otherwise than either the Authorized or the Revised Version, in chap. xii. 32, the beloved disciple gives the words of our Lord as follows: "And I, if I be lifted on high out of the earth, will draw all men unto Myself." The translation "lifted up" is far too weak for the word *ὑψωθῶ*. It ought to be rendered "lifted on high," and the preposition *ἐκ* may not be translated "from." It ought (with the margin of the R.V.) to be rendered "out of." So given, the words of Jesus can have but one meaning, that His Glorification begins not with the Resurrection but with the Crucifixion. It is so indeed throughout the whole of the fourth Gospel. The facts of the Crucifixion and the Glorification go together, and cannot be separated from each other. The dying Redeemer is glorified through death, the glorified Redeemer dies that He may, by the path of death, find true glory. The same point is illustrated not by single expressions only, but by the structure of the Gospel as a whole, while by nothing perhaps is it more confirmed than by the striking words in which the Evangelist records the death of the Redeemer, "And He bowed His head, and delivered up His spirit" (chap. xix. 30). "No one taketh away His life from Him, but He lays it down of Himself. He has power to lay it down, and He has power to take it again" (chap. x. 18). In a moment such as that we have less the extremity of shame than the extreme of glory. The Crucifixion then is the beginning of the Glorification of Jesus, and it is so on precisely the same lines of thought as those which conduct us to the glory of Melchizedek. As the glory of that ancient high priest is grounded on the fact that he is without father or mother, without beginning of days or end of life, without the limitations of the material, the tangible or the visible, so the Glorification of Christ begins in His being lifted on high out of the earth, out of the same material, tangible, and

visible sphere, from the thought of which the priesthood of Melchizedek is free. The Crucifixion breaks the bond to earth; it is the introduction of the full reign of spiritual and heavenly power.

Christ then was a High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, and after that order alone. And it is in this light that He is brought before us alike in Ps. cx. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It was impossible for the readers of the Psalm to connect, in any shape or form, the Priesthood of the great Prince and Deliverer to come with the order of Aaron. To their minds that order had its well defined boundaries and its own peculiar prerogatives, and no one could be a priest of two orders. The writer of the Epistle takes up the thought, and expressly tells us that if Christ were on the earth He "could not be a priest at all, seeing there are those who offer the gifts according to the law" (chap. viii. 4). He could not therefore have offered gifts according to the law; and, in the language of Delitzsch, "His sacerdotal ministration is as far exalted above the law as the new covenant, of which He is Mediator, is superior to the old covenant to which the sanctuary belongs."<sup>1</sup> Again we read in the same Epistle that "having been made perfect, He became unto all them that obey Him the Author of an eternal salvation; named of God a high priest after the order of Melchizedek" (chap. v. 10). In other words, it was after He had been "made perfect" that God named, or rather addressed, Him in the manner described.

To return to the question with which we started, When did the Priesthood of our Lord begin? It is well known how much inquirers have differed upon the point; but the cause of the difference is plain. Such writers as Tholuck, Riehm, Hofmann, and Delitzsch seem substantially to admit that Christ's High Priesthood began with His Glori-

<sup>1</sup> *Commentary on Hebr.*, in loc.

fication ; but they cannot allow that the death upon the cross was not " an essential part of His High Priest's work, performed in the outer court, that is, in this world " ; and they are thus driven to the expedient of saying that, high-priestly as that act was, the Priesthood of Christ only attained its completeness after His Resurrection. But the distinction between incompleteness and completeness cannot be maintained, and the true solution appears to be that contained in our Lord's own words in the Gospel of St. John, that His priesthood, the priesthood elsewhere so pointedly described as one " after the order of Melchizedek," began when He was " lifted on high out of the earth," and was set free from all restrictions of the flesh and sense and time.

One point must still be noticed. In what light, it may be asked, does this view place the whole of our Lord's earthly life between the Incarnation and the Cross? The answer is, It was the preparation for His work of Him who was both Victim and Priest. On the cross He was the true Paschal Lamb, and that lamb, it is well known, was separated from the flock days before the sacrifice, that, in one way or another, it might be made ready for its fate. On the cross He was also the true Priest, and His whole previous experience was His preparation for the priestly acts that were there and thereafter to be transacted. Onward from the Incarnation, through the humiliations pains and sorrows of His condition in this world, to the instant when in spirit He bade farewell to earth and took His place upon the cross, He was " learning obedience through the things which He suffered." He was realizing in the ever increasing fulness of its meaning what it was to be the " Sent " of God, and what it was, not by Divine insight alone, but by human fellowship, to sympathize with the wants of those who were longing after peace, but who, ignorant of His Father and their Father, knew not where



to find it. In this course of life He was "made perfect," and, thus made perfect, He entered upon that Priesthood which, in the true meaning of the words, contains the thought of everything most full of love to God and of love and tenderness to man.

We have occupied so much time with this discussion that we must reserve for another paper consideration of the work of the Heavenly High Priest; and all therefore to be done now is to mark as briefly as possible the leading characteristics by which the Heavenly High Priesthood is distinguished.

1. It is one and unchangeable. Of the Levitical priests it is said, "And they indeed have been made priests many in number, because that by death they are hindered from continuing; but He, because He abideth for ever, hath His priesthood unchangeable" (Heb. vii. 23, 24). It was a weakness of the legal priesthood that, held by mortal men, the office had to be continually surrendered at the call of death. Therefore these priests needed to be "many in number," so that, as each in succession died, another might be found ready to take his place. There was thus in that priesthood the element of change which imprints its stamp of vanity upon all human things. At the moment when "old experience" best fitted him for the discharge of his varied and often difficult duties, the priest of Aaron's line with his long gathered fitness was borne to the grave. At the moment when he had succeeded most completely in inspiring with confidence those who received the benefit of his priestly ministrations, his eyes closed upon their necessities and his ears to their cry. But it is not so with the Heavenly High Priest. In Him the thought of "many" is fulfilled in that of one, the thought of the changing in that of the unchanging, the thought of a past to be cherished by the memory in that of the same living and abiding presence—"Jesus Christ, the same yesterday

and to-day, yea and for ever" (Heb. xiii. 7, 8). The worshipper under the better covenant might thus recall every instance of consolation given to the mourner, or guidance to the perplexed, or strength to the weak, known either to himself or learned from the history of others, and might feel that the same fountain of grace was open in all the fulness of its blessings to himself. In a spirit of unchanging trust he might build upon an unchanging Rock of ages.

2. It is spiritual. On this point the Levitical system had failed to satisfy the conscience. Under it were "offered both gifts and sacrifices that cannot, as touching the conscience, make the worshipper perfect, being only (with meats and drinks and divers washings) carnal ordinances, imposed until a time of reformation" (Heb. ix. 9, 10). For a time it had served an important purpose. While the Jewish people were educating from the outward to the inward, from the carnal to the spiritual, while they were as yet unable to comprehend the true nature of God and of the worship which He required, it had inspired powerful, though still imperfect, notions of the disastrous consequences of forsaking, and of the glorious results of serving, Him. But the state of things then instituted could not continue. The education of men must advance, God must be better known, and the idea of sin be deepened. Thus the whole Judaic system would necessarily break down. "The blood of bulls and of goats cannot take away sin," and a spiritual answer must be given to a spiritual need. That answer is given in the priesthood and in the priestly office of Christ. Identified with His spiritual offering, the offering of the will, believers offer up their wills to the Father of their spirits, and in His perfect offering they are accepted. By His offering they that are sanctified, or rather they that are being sanctified, are perfected for ever.

3. It is universal. The blessings of the Levitical system were confined to Israel. No stranger, unless first naturalized, might be partaker of its benefits. Human feeling was kept in the isolation of a narrow groove. The idea of universal love could find no way into the heart which rather developed on the lines of its own selfish tendencies, and, mistaking the spirit of the economy under which Israel lived, exclaimed, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy" (Matt. v. 43). In the High Priesthood of Christ all distinctions between man and man fall away. He is not like Aaron the son of Israel. He is like Melchizedek a Son of man. In Him "there can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond or free, there can be no male and female" (Gal. iii. 28). Not, indeed, that such distinctions as lie in nature and providence are in themselves obliterated. But beneath them there is the common bond of a common love, in which all learn to feel for, to sympathize with, and to help, one another, for all are "one man in Christ Jesus."

4. It is everlasting. The priests of Aaron's line were made "after the law of a carnal commandment." The High Priest of the Christian faith is made "after the power of an endless life" (Heb. vii. 16). God Himself hath sworn to him, "Thou art a priest for ever." In what particular sense we are to understand the "everlasting" character of our Lord's work as Priest will have to be inquired into when we come to speak of the nature of His work in heaven. In the meantime it is enough to dwell for a moment on the fact that He is an everlasting Priest. His Priesthood endures through all the rolling years or ages of the Christian economy. Nay, it endures throughout eternity. It might be thought that, at last, when the end of life's pilgrimage is reached and the number of the elect is gathered in to the safe protection of their heavenly home, there would be no need of a priesthood or a priest. But

such is not the teaching of the New Testament. Rather are we taught that in Him, as Priest, must we always stand accepted before God. Throughout eternity the love of the Father must flow forth to us "in His name." Therefore in the visions of the Revelation of St. John He is clad in priestly robes; and, in similar robes, in garments washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb, His redeemed there either stand singing their song of grateful thanksgiving, or are guided by Him unto fountains of waters of life (chap. vii.).

Such then is the one, spiritual, universal, and everlasting Priesthood of our Lord, as in His person and office He fulfilled the idea of the priesthood of Aaron, and was Himself a Priest after the order of Melchizedek. It is possible that some may ask, Why all this dwelling upon a topic so remote from us? or, if it is to be dwelt upon, why not take the simple explanation, that Christ is a High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, because that mysterious personage was both priest and king?

The latter part of this question may be answered first. Melchizedek's kingship is subordinate to his priesthood. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews no doubt notes the fact that he was a king; but in all his discussion regarding him, in all the particulars in which he points out the greatness of his person and work, he compares him not with the kings but with the priests of Israel. A similar order of thought marks the Revelation of St. John. It may be that, in the vision of the glorified Lord in the first chapter of that book, there are traces of His kingly rule, but those of His priesthood unquestionably predominate. In like manner, when it is said in chap. i. 6 of the same book, "And He made us to be a kingdom, to be priests unto His God and Father," the principles everywhere marking the structure of the book, require us to see in the latter the more important, the climactic, clause. Pro-



phesy had spoken in the same strain when it foretold of the man whose name is The BRANCH, that He should be "a Priest upon His throne" (Zech. vi. 13). Priestliness is the atmosphere and the bond of the kingdom, and in it lies the glory of the king.

As to the former part again of the question we are now answering, let it be remembered that the "Melchizedek" and the "heavenly" Priesthood of our Lord are synonymous expressions, the first only illustrating, and enabling us to comprehend more fully, what is implied in the second, and there will be no complaint of labour thrown away in the effort to comprehend it, for in the heavenly priesthood of our Lord, as we have yet to see in other particulars, lie the roots of the Church's life, as well as the responsibility and power of her action in the world and for the world's good.

W. MILLIGAN.

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## *HOW FAR IS THE CHURCH RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT SCEPTICISM ?*

SCEPTICISM is the price which each generation has to pay for growth in knowledge. Each newly discovered truth demands to be admitted into and to be assimilated to the body of truth already believed. This process of assimilation is accompanied by many growing pains. Beliefs which have stiffened with age are forcibly thrust out of their old positions. The whole body assumes altered proportions. New truths come like invaders who exterminate those already in possession, if ground is not peaceably yielded to them. It is the ceaseless task of the Church to receive into the fellowship of the Christian faith every truth as it is ascertained—a task which calls for candour, knowledge, and wisdom ; for a mind devoted not to the fragment of truth already held, but to all truth ; for that patience, above all, which comes of the immovable conviction that no one truth can grow at the expense of others, but that truth is a whole which must grow together or not at all. Lassalle said, “ With truth there can be no arguing. You might as well argue with the pillar of fire which went before the children of Israel.” But we must go further, and welcome every truth as that which centres in and leads up to Him who said, “ I am the truth.”

But when the relations between the old and the new are strained, it is always easier to cut short all effort at reconciliation, and throw in one's lot with either extreme. Impatience is the prolific mother of the double brood of

traditionalists and sceptics. Men cannot brook mystery, nor exercise a masculine suspense of judgment. They crave definite and immediate knowledge; and what is definite they adopt, no matter how shallow it be. Irresponsible security, though it be in a cage, is better, in the judgment of most men, than the expanse and freedom of the open heaven with its risks and call upon self-government. Men will rather have a full-sized creed than the mustard seed of ascertained truth with its present insignificance and future possibilities. Definite knowledge is our snare. Not only do men assume as axiomatic that the world is intelligible, that the universe is made on the scale of the human understanding, but they also demand that everything shall be at once intelligible to the individual understanding of this present generation. It is this impatience of the slow processes of reconciliation which prompts men to reject either the new or the old truth, and makes a rational and open-minded faith so difficult and so rare. It was his observation of this feature of every generation which prompted Mohammed's exclamation, "There are two things I abhor: the learned in his infidelities, and the fool in his devotions."

We have the happiness and the responsibility of living in a time when the most powerful and various solvents have been applied to religious beliefs, and when new truths have with unusual rapidity been brought to light, so that it cannot be wondered at if the Church is slightly in arrears in the checking and admission of these truths. The allied studies, literary criticism and historical research, have been pursued with unprecedented intelligence, ardour, and success; and much has been brought to light which considerably modifies our view of past times and of ancient documents. The Bible lies within the field of this fresh light, and we understand now better what the Bible is. Physical science by its extraordinary conquests has put

men in possession of truths regarding the world and its laws which not only minister to human convenience, but also to a considerable extent alter our conception of nature as a whole. In the theory of evolution, as Darwin himself was careful to point out, there is nothing that *necessarily* excludes the agency of a personal Creator; but as that theory, at any rate, removes God's creative agency to an immeasurable distance in the past, and traces back all this varied universe to a few original elements, the natural, if illogical, consequence is that nature is thought of as self-evolving and self-regulating. The agency of nature in evolving and preserving living forms is so efficient, so wonderful, and so open to observation, that it tends to occupy the mind to the exclusion of any radical originating cause.

That scepticism should exist in this, as in other ages, need not then surprise us. If Bishop Butler, one hundred and fifty years ago, had reason to say, "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious," we may rather wonder that in an age even more difficult to faith there should be so much intelligent conviction. But the question for us is, Is the Church in any degree responsible for present scepticism? and is there any alteration we can make in our attitude towards it, or in our methods of dealing with it, which may be expected to abate its violence and diminish its extent?

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the Church might have given a more distinct idea of Christianity and of what the true Christian is. It must frequently have been matter of astonishment, and even of something like dismay, to every reader to find how completely even the best educated assailants of Christianity misunderstand what it is. Not only in the lower class of freethinking journals, but in



writers of the culture and knowledge of the late Cotter Morison, there is exhibited an almost unaccountable ignorance of the spirit and aims of Christianity. The Christian is represented as an obscurantist, afraid of light, and capable of swallowing the grossest absurdities; as a selfish, small-souled creature, whose object it is to save his own soul, and whose idea of saving his soul is escaping from punishment in a future life.

For such misrepresentations the Church is responsible, in so far as it has not produced a type of Christianity which would make these conceptions impossible; and in so far as it has allowed faith in Christ to become identified in the popular mind with faith in a number of doctrines regarding Christ, and has thus made faith needlessly difficult, and to many minds repellent and impossible. What Christ Himself required in His followers should be enough for the Church to require. This position, clearly defined and defended by Stillingfleet and Jeremy Taylor, should be ostentatiously occupied. What Christ required was, that men should follow Him. He did not require them to accept a number of propositions about Him, but to prove their belief in Him by accepting Him as the true Ruler of their life. We have no right to ask more. We have no right to put bars on the door of His fold which He did not put. Never was His own liberal rule more in need of application: "He that is not against us is on our part." Even though a man does not see his way to follow with us, yet if he shows that to him Christ is the highest authority, his true guide in all moral and spiritual matters, that man is a Christian; and whatever increase in his knowledge may be desirable, that increase will be reached as he follows Christ in his life.

By confounding faith in Christ with faith in Scripture, or faith in a certain theory of the atonement, or in this or that doctrine, and by giving the impression that without accept-

ing these doctrines a man cannot accept Christ and be a zealous Christian, the Church not only needlessly increases the difficulties of faith, and so produces sceptics, but also leads men to misapprehend the real point at issue between faith and scepticism. The differentia of the Christian, that which distinguishes Christian faith from every other form of opinion or belief, is the one conviction that Jesus is at this moment conscious and supreme. The question which separates men into the two great classes of Christians and sceptics is this: Did Christ rise from the dead? If He did, then there is a spiritual power stronger than the mightiest physical forces in nature, a spiritual power which can compel natural laws to subserve spiritual purposes. By His resurrection we are put in possession of God and immortality. But if, on the contrary, He still lies in His grave in "the lone Syrian town," if death terminated His living touch with this world, and if now He is helplessly separated from it, then the religion of the apostles and martyrs is no more, and for aught that Christianity can say to the contrary, Nature is God, and beyond the limits she imposes we have no outlook at all.

Secondly, the Church is responsible for present scepticism by producing the impression that the Bible must either be accepted as throughout infallible or not at all. Renan, in his autobiography, tells us that he was brought up to believe that Christianity was bound up with the infallibility of Scripture; so that when he found that there were statements in Scripture irreconcilable with fact, he had no choice but to abandon Christianity. Such is the history of scepticism in many minds. A lad grows up under the impression that the Church accepts all the statements in the Bible as infallibly true, and requires all believers to accept them. He understands that there is no middle position between accepting the whole of Scripture and rejecting the whole of it. He has been taught that the

infallibility of the Bible is the ground of the whole Christian faith, and accordingly, when he finds that there are in the Bible what he conceives to be mistakes, he fancies the foundations are removed, and he yields himself to unbelief. It is the duty of the Church to make it plain that faith in Christ is not bound up with faith in the infallibility of Scripture.

The Church is also responsible for not having yet formulated a doctrine of revelation which enables inquiring minds to understand what the Bible is, and to account for all its characteristics. Col. Ingersoll's assault upon Christianity has done incalculable harm, and the strength of that assault consists largely in the trenchant exposure he makes of the imperfect morality of the Old Testament, and of what he terms the "mistakes of Moses." This, it may be said, is proof of his ignorance and of the weakness of his attack. It is certainly proof of his ignorance, but it is no proof of the weakness of his attack; for thousands believe with him that Christianity stands or falls with the infallibility of the Old Testament; and the Church itself has no formulated doctrine of revelation, its methods and its progress, which accounts for the mistakes and the immoralities of the Old Testament on a principle which satisfies the thinking man.

The Old Testament history is a faithful record of a race which was being trained to know God and to love righteousness, and it shows us the steps in their progress. The leading men of this race were sincere and devoted servants of Jehovah, and were in true communion with Him, but they had not a perfect knowledge of Him. They were gradually advancing towards that perfect knowledge which came at last in Christ. They were able to understand only so much of the Divine nature as they had grown up to, as a child cannot understand the whole of his father's character and ways. And these imperfections in the knowledge of God,

the Bible, being a true and faithful record, freely recounts, boldly showing us how even the best men among the Jews misunderstood God, but how by adhering to His law and seeking to hold fellowship with Him, they gradually eliminated from their knowledge of Him what was crude and unworthy. And it is not the imperfections and immoralities which disfigure the earlier part of this growth which should arrest the attention, but the sure and grand progress which at last extruded and left behind all those crudities and imperfections, and justified the training hand and Spirit of God. To look upon the Old Testament as depicting a final stage in knowledge and righteousness is a fatal error. Revelation has been a growing light from dawn to perfect day, and though many in the gray dawn served God as faithfully as their successors, it was not possible they should know Him as well or interpret His will as accurately.

Finally, our general bearing and attitude towards sceptics might probably be improved. As Plato long ago remarked: "It is a pity that if one half of the world goes mad with godlessness, the other half should go mad with indignation at them." Sceptics often betray animosity against believers, sometimes from irritation that men should go on trusting in what they have striven to persuade the world is false; sometimes perhaps from some remaining uneasiness in their own mind. And on our part, we are probably too much in the way of thinking that all scepticism is voluntary and wanton. There are, doubtless, sceptics and sceptics, and not all command our respect or sympathy. Many loud declamations are but echoes, not original voices: reverberations from cold, hard surfaces of men, not utterances wrung from the exercised spirits of living men. For dealing with such persons, as with many other varieties of opinion and practice, the Church needs above all else a Satirist.



There is indeed quite as much cant and repetition of pet formulas and shallow thinking and reliance on authority to be found among sceptics as among believers. "Freethinking" often means thinking that is free from the restrictions which accurate knowledge and the recognised laws of reasoning lay upon scientific investigation. And any one whose own studies have disclosed to him the mass of evidence which must be taken account of before a critical decision is given, will agree with Renan when he says that "in reality few persons have the right to disbelieve in Christianity."

There is however a scepticism which does deserve our sympathy and respect. Inquiry into the grounds of our belief is, happily, to many minds a necessity. And in the Christian faith so much is involved, and the necessary inferences from it come into contact at so many points with the whole circle of our beliefs, that hesitation and doubt cannot but arise in earnest minds. But we are to judge of men rather by what they wish to believe than by what they presently find themselves able to believe. A man may passionately desire to believe, and may gather before his mind all the evidence he can, and yet for the present feel uncertain and doubtful. But if he be in earnest to find the truth, and if his desire and belief are that truth, whatever he finds it to be, will aid him in the pursuit of righteousness and the knowledge of God, that man's scepticism is faith in the making. In words which have brought light and hope to many a disturbed and darkened soul—

"What matter though I doubt at every pore,—  
Head-doubts, heart-doubts, doubts at my fingers' ends,  
Doubts in the trivial work of every day,  
Doubts at the very bases of my soul  
In the grand moments when she probes herself—  
If finally I have a life to show?"

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'What think ye of Christ,' friend? When all's done and said,  
 Like you this Christianity or not?  
 It may be false, but do you wish it true?  
 Has it your vote to be so if it can?

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If you desire faith, then you've faith enough;  
 What else seeks God? nay, what else seek ourselves?"

One important practical conclusion will certainly be gathered by thoughtful persons from this subject; that is, that it is the unbelief within the Church which is mainly responsible for the unbelief outside. Were the members of the Church leading a supernatural life, unbelief in the supernatural would become impossible. Were the supreme, living, present power of Christ manifested in the actual superiority of His people to earthly ways and motives, it would be as impossible to deny that power as it is to deny the power of the tides or of the sun. Offences come and sceptics are made chiefly by the worldliness and unreformed poor lives of professed believers. What is a man to gain by believing, if his life is raised to no greater value than that of most Christians he sees? Men seek what will make them useful, pure, in the best sense heavenly; but in most of us they see little to tell of any force in religion that makes men so. However careless men are, and however little they inquire into things, they have a rough common sense, a true instinct, which, without any effort on their part, makes them aware whether Christianity is a success or not. Men acknowledge success, and they despise whatever makes loud professions and does nothing, and therefore it is that so commonly in this country and in this age religion is despised; and this it is also which makes us shamefaced about our religion: we have a latent consciousness that in ourselves it has not proved itself mighty to the pulling down of the strongholds of sin in us. These are grievous things to have to say, but we must look the

facts in the face, and recognise our responsibility. Christ's words are very awful, "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea." If any conduct of ours, or if the tenour of our life or any infirmity be gradually impressing on the mind of some child or youth or wavering person that there is little reality in religion, no duty can more urgently press upon us than inquiry into our conduct, and strenuous endeavour to make our religion more real than ever.

MARCUS DODS.

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THE PENTATEUCH—EGYPTICITY AND  
AUTHENTICITY.

II.

JOSEPH exalted.

Genesis xli. 40. "According unto thy word shall all my people be ruled." The margin of the Revised Version contains the two alternative readings "or *order themselves*, or do homage." Either of the three paraphrases is better than the literal verbal translation which Gesenius, and others, would have us adopt—"upon thy mouth shall all my people kiss"; though they understand it of "obedience and homage"; we would say of obedience alone, with the idea of *willing* obedience. Any one who has seen an Egyptian menial standing before a high official and listening attentively to his orders, and then before starting off to execute them raising his hand to his mouth and giving an audible smack upon its back or at it, would understand the expression as given in the Hebrew text. This is the kiss of obedience. The kiss of reverence or homage is upon the back of the hand of the person revered: and the person claiming reverence holds out his hand, with the palm downwards, to be taken hold of and kissed. This is the kiss which is given by the people to their priests and civil rulers. It is the one which Absalom is said (2 Sam. xv. 5) to have received, not given, when he stole the hearts of the people. I cannot think Absalom kissed the man who came nigh to do obedience to him. He extended his hand to him, and allowed him to take it **לֹהֵחַ** (Hīph'il), and thus it was kissed as described above. I would thus understand **נִשָּׁק** as passive, and the expression to be, *it was kissed to him*. Were it active, it would be **יִשָּׁק**, and then we would say that the feminine gender, which is usual in the word **יָד**, is neglected in the pronoun of **לוֹ**, as it is in **בוֹ**, Ezek. ii. 19. It



is certain that **החזיק לו** cannot be translated "took hold of him," or it would be **בו** with **יו** the Accusative understood; and it is incredible that Absalom, wishing to secure the allegiance of the people to himself as king, when they came to him to bow at his feet as one of the king's sons, would so bring himself down to their level as to lay hold of them and kiss them, as if they were equals.

Ver. 42. **שש** (fine linen). This, as is said in the *Speaker's Commentary*, is a "well-ascertained" Egyptian word. The Coptic *shens* and one of the ancient forms *shens* (Pierret, 747) contain a medial "n." Two facts are noteworthy concerning it: 1st, that the word, though still in common use in Egypt, is not now applied to cloth of Egyptian manufacture, but to the fine gauze-like white calico which comes from Manchester: 2nd, that the word **بوص** (bus) with which the Arabic translators of the Bible (the American missionaries in Syria) have rendered it (Heb. **בוץ** "byssus") is not known in Egypt, except as the name of the long canes which grow beside the water-courses.

We have a similar example in the word **גרן** (threshing-floor), Gen. i. 10. The Coptic *jêr* and **جرن** (jern) is still the word for threshing-floor in universal use in Egypt. In Palestine and Syria it is only used for the small stone mortar employed in the kitchen, and **بيدر** (beider) is used for a threshing-floor, which word the Egyptians do not know, except the few who have learned it from the Syrian translation of the Scriptures. I need not call attention to the importance of such facts (and we will find many of them as we proceed) in the question of the Egyptian origin of the Pentateuch.

Ver. 43. **אברך**. Canon Cook seems to be conscious of failure in explaining this word. He begins, "This word, which Gesenius calls 'vox perdubia,' has never had a satisfactory explanation." He adds, "It is admitted to be Egyptian," and then proceeds to add several to the numer-

ous conjectures already existing as to its Egyptian derivation. After all, is it not a Hebrew word? The fact of its existing in the cognate Semitic dialects, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac, would be a presumption in favour of this. And has not Canon Cook been misled into still seeking an Egyptian derivation by what is now held by the most eminent Egyptologists to be his capital mistake in his otherwise most valuable essay, which is also found in his commentary, on *The Bearings of Egyptian History upon the Pentateuch*. This mistake is that Joseph's residence in Egypt was previous to the invasion and rule of the Hyksos, or shepherd kings. The point has been made so clear by Dr. Brugsch in his *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, and by others, that I do not think it necessary, as I do not feel competent, to enter into it. Taking it for established, it is a most important fact, and one which must leave its marks upon our narrative. To the Hyksos Joseph was a brother Semite, and would be received with favour by the reigning Pharaoh whether he was, according to concurrent tradition, Apophis, or any other of the Hyksos rulers. How, otherwise, can we explain the fact that Joseph, on his interpretation of the king's dream, was so readily believed and accepted, and was raised to so high a dignity in the nation? This was too much to expect on the single testimony of the chief butler, and it would have been quite contrary to what we know of the Egyptian jealousy of foreigners in ancient times and unto this day.

Dr. Brugsch says, in his *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, (vol. i., p. 270), "The present state of Egyptian research concerning the history of the Hyksos has enabled us to supply answers to a number of questions which stand in close connexion with these events, and embrace the following facts":

The facts he gives under seven heads. At present we will only quote the third. "The foreigners had adopted

not only the customs and manners of the Egyptians, but also their official language and writing. The whole order of their court was arranged on Egyptian models." Many other dynasties of foreigners have in this found it politic to follow the example of the Hyksos. Napoleon the Great, at the beginning of this century, donned the white turban, the badge of Islam, and professed to the Ulema of the Azhar that there was no deity but God, and Muhammed was His prophet; and even the English to-day are striving to consolidate the government and thus *facilitate* (their jealous French neighbours say indefinitely *procrastinate*) their departure by truckling to native prejudices.

We must insist on the third fact of Dr. Brugsch because of its importance in throwing light upon much that we find in the Biblical narrative. As to the point at present under consideration let us go back a little. If, as we have admitted, the Egyptian historians have proved the Pharaoh of Joseph was a Hyksos, then of all the officers and servants about him, the chief butler and baker were doubtless of his own nationality, Semites. Taste in food would suggest this; but if the Hyksos were as unpopular as the Egyptian records lead us to conclude, no Egyptian could be trusted to have to do with the food of the Pharaohs. This might seem to militate against what I have said on xxxix. 1 in support of the LXX. translation of the phrase שר הכבדים. But in the first place there is something remarkable, after the mention of his Egyptian name, and that he was an officer of Pharaoh, in adding that he was "*an Egyptian*"; and secondly, as I have remarked in accordance with the third fact of Dr. Brugsch, all foreign dynasties, down to the present English one, have always shown themselves most anxious to conciliate native prejudices, and there is no better way to do this than by retaining natives in certain high offices which are for the most part sinecures. The head or sheikh of the cooks would have

nothing to do with the preparation of food, but only with the regulation of those appointed to the office; and Pharaoh would see to it that those appointed for his service were trusty men of his own nation. Since there were also a chief baker and butler, with their staffs of workmen, they would be responsible for the safe and appetising composition of the royal viands. It is a fact that the most of the governmental departments have now Egyptian heads, but there are under them English subordinates who see to it that all things are rightly done. The record has hints confirming the presumption that the two were Semitic. When they told Joseph, their brother Semite, that they had had dreams, and there was no interpreter, he answered, "Do not interpretations belong to God?" In this, Joseph not only shows his piety, but he mentions the name of Elohim, a God who had no place in the Egyptian pantheon; and they manifest a favourable knowledge of the God of Abraham by immediately telling him their dreams. His request to be made mention of unto Pharaoh shows that he expected from him a favourable consideration of his case, which a *foreign* imprisoned slave could hardly have expected from an *Egyptian*. Then when it is said, "Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgot him," his failure to mention him to Pharaoh is not attributed to race antipathy, but to pure forgetfulness. I am not sure that those dwelling in other lands would quite justify these my inferences, but am quite sure that they are in accordance with the feelings of Egyptians and Syrians toward each other for more than thirty years past, and that, even when they are or should be bound together by the bonds of a common faith, and it the Christian faith.

When now we turn to his intercourse with Pharaoh, we find that, when they made Joseph run to the palace, only giving him time to shave and change his clothes, it is not said that *they* took him in to introduce him, or act as inter-



preters, but that he entered alone into Pharaoh's presence, and the business in hand was at once opened. "I have dreamed a dream, and there is none to interpret it." How beautiful, modest, faithful to God, and sympathetic with Pharaoh was the answer, "It is not in me; Elohim shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace"! Then three times in the midst of his interpretation he refers it to God. And Joseph was not mistaken in his presumption that the Pharaoh would not resent his ignoring the Egyptian pantheon, by bringing so prominently forward the Semitic God. On the contrary, when Joseph not only interpreted, but presumed to give advice, Pharaoh at once appealed to his council of state, saying, "Can we find such an one as this is, a man in whom the *spirit of God* is?" and added, addressing Joseph, "Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this," and immediately set him over all the land of Egypt, reserving to himself only the throne, put his signet ring upon his hand, arrayed him in vestures of fine linen and a gold chain, and made him ride in the second chariot which he had. Is not this glimpse into the constitution and manners of the court sufficient to lead us to expect that, when Joseph rode out, there would be numerous Semites around who would cry out before him, to every one, in true Semitic phrase, "Abrek" (bow the knee).

We have already seen sufficient reason for Pharaoh's giving Joseph an Egyptian name, "Zaphnath-paaneah"; and the same line of policy would lead him to give him an Egyptian wife, daughter of a high Egyptian official. I do not believe he was a priest. On, the holy city, doubtless had many priests, and we have evidence that the word כֹּהֵן (kohen), originally apparently meaning simply an old man, and retaining traces of this meaning in the Arabic, was used much in the sense of sheikh, or old man, and used to designate a civil ruler as well as, in the patriarchal times, the priest of the family, and so came in the course of time

to be made more definitely official: *i.e.* "kohen," for the religious, and "sheikh," for the civil official. We have an example of the old use of the word in 2 Sam. viii. 18. It may be safely presumed that Joseph had a choice in the matter, and that he would not ally himself to the family of a man who must have been so pledged to the national idolatrous faith as a priest of On. It is certain that Joseph retained his piety, which has been so manifest in the preceding narrative. This immediately appears in the story, in the Hebrew names which he gave his two children, Manasseh and Ephraim, and the devout sentiments which the names expressed,—“God hath made me forget all my toil and all my father’s house,” and “God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction.”

On (Coptic Ōn) is the city which was afterwards called Heliopolis, near Cairo, now called Matarieh. To the north-east, several miles distant, is Tel El-Yehudieh (the Mound of the Jewess), where, by permission of Ptolemy Philometer, Onias undertook to build a Jewish temple for the Egyptian Jews who had fled to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them against his own protest, when Nebuchadnezzar invaded Palestine. We need not enter into the controversy concerning the name given to the city in the prophecy of Isaiah (xix. 18).

The words Zaphnath-paaneah, Asenath, Poti-pherah, we recognise as Egyptian as easily as we do a German word in an English text. This fact is sufficient for our purpose of showing the Egyptian character of the record, and we need not enter into the various conjectures which have been made as to their exact Egyptian meaning. Joseph’s surname has especially been made the subject of long linguistic discussions, with very conflicting results. We have the transliteration of the LXX., “Psonthomphanek,” which is rendered by the Vulgate “saviour of the world,” and by the Arabic, and other oriental versions, “revealer of secrets.”

Then we have Osborn's translation, "he who flees adultery," and Canon Cook's, "the food of life" or "of the living," and Dr. Brugsch's, "the governor of the district of the dwelling-place of the living one." We do not think it possible that the title given by Pharaoh to Joseph should designate him as the governor of the district or city of Pithom; for in the verse preceding he had given him absolute authority "in all the land of Egypt," and in the verse following it is said that "Joseph went throughout all the land of Egypt." At the same time, what Dr. Brugsch writes is well worth quoting, as connecting the name with "the Living One," as well as for its bearing on the recent discovery of Pithom. He says, vol. ii., p. 376, "Although the lists of the names, as well as the Egyptian texts, expressly designate the sun-god Tom—the same who had splendid temples at On or Heliopolis—as the tutelar deity of Sukot, they nevertheless add that the god Tom represents solely the Egyptian type corresponding to the divinity of Pitom, who is called by the name of ānkh, and surnamed 'the great god.' The word ānkh, which is of Egyptian origin, signifies 'life' or 'he who lives,' 'the Living One.' This is the only case, in the Egyptian texts, of the occurrence of such a name for a god as seems to exclude the notion of idolatry. And in fact, if we take into consideration the presence of families of the Semitic race, who have resided in Egypt in all periods of her history—including the nation of the Hebrews—we cannot refuse to recognise in this Divine name the trace of an old religious notion which has been preserved even in the monumental records of the Egyptians. I will not venture to decide the question whether the god 'He who lives,' of the Egyptian text, is identical with the Jehovah of the Hebrews; but, at all events, everything tends to this belief when we remember that the name of Jehovah contains the same meaning as the Egyptian word ānkh, 'He who lives.' According to the

monuments, this god, in whose honour a great feast was celebrated on the 13th day of the second month of summer, was served, not by priests, like the other divinities of the Egyptian pantheon, but by two young girls, sisters, who bore the sacred title of *Ur-ti*, that is, 'the two queens.' "

Again, on the name of Joseph, p. 378, he says: "According to the indications of the monuments, the town of Pitom, the chief place of the district of Sukot, had an appellation which it owed to the presence and existence of its god *ānhk*, 'He who lives,' or 'the Living One,' and which, in the terms of the Egyptian language, was pronounced *p-āa-ānhk*, 'the habitation or the dwelling-place of the god *ānhk*.' In conformity with this name, the district of Sukot was otherwise called *p-u-nt-pāa-ānhk*, 'the district of the dwelling-place of the Living One.' Add to this monumental name the Egyptian word '*za*,' the well-known designation of the governor of a city or a district, and you will have the title *Za-p-u-nt-p-āa-ānhk*, 'the governor of the district of the dwelling-place of the Living One,' which a Greek of the time of the Ptolemies would have rendered by the translation 'the monarch of the Sethroite nome.' And now turn to Holy Scripture: it will inform you that the Pharaoh of Joseph honoured his vizier with the long title of *Zaphnatpāneakh*, which, letter for letter, answers exactly to the long Egyptian word the analysis of which I have just laid before you."

All this opens a wide door for future investigation. We can at least now say that we regret that Canon Cook, in his rendering, did not use the capital letters of Dr. Brugsch, and say "the Living One," instead of "the living." When we revert to the Hebrew transliteration of Joseph's name, its second part, פֶּעֶנֶחַ, stripped of its Massoretic vowels (which all will admit are of no authority) is simply *Pa-ankh*—*Pa*, the Egyptian definite article, and *ankh*—"the living one."



Ver. 47. "Handfuls." In Egypt wheat is reaped either by pulling it up by the roots, or grasping it with the left hand and cutting with the sickle. In either case the word handful implies that each kernel produced sufficient of the branching-eared twigs which I have described (verse 5) to fill the hand. The one containing forty-three stems I could not pull up with my right hand.

Ver. 48. "All the food of the seven years." As Joseph, ver. 34, had advised Pharaoh to take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt, the כָּל here is doubtless to be understood distributively, as *every kind* of food.

"The food of the field which was round about every city." Each city in Egypt is surrounded by only one field, the only demarcation of the farms of different proprietors being small stone landmarks. So also the farmers live in cities or villages; so that "the food of the field which was round about every city" would be "laid up in the same."

Ver. 56. "Store-houses." There is no word in the Hebrew answering to this. The Hebrew expression is, "Joseph opened all that had in them." The difficulty seems to have been the want of a Hebrew word to describe the Egyptian shunes or storehouses. See my description of them, *Monthly Interpreter*, Nov., 1885; or *Evangelical Repository*, Vol. lxii., No. 11.

Ver. 57. שָׁבַר. The derivations of this word, as given by Gesenius from the meaning "to break," are very curious. His own changing the ט to ת (tha) and the ל to מ (meem), is not less curious. He says a vestige of the same (meaning) remains also in Arabic ثَبَرَة; but the Arabic lexicons explain this word as another form of صَبْرَة, which we have already seen, ver. 35, means a "heap of grain." Lane, in his Arabic Lexicon, explains the word under شَبْر (shabar), which is the exact transliteration of the Hebrew word. He says, "He measured by the شَبْر (or span) a garment, or a piece of cloth, or a thing." Then under the verbal nouns

he says, <sup>sc-</sup>شبر “the measure, by the span, of a garment or piece of cloth”; and under هشير “certain notches in the cubit” by which buying and selling are transacted. Of them is the notch of the span and the notch of the half-span and of the quarter thereof; every notch of these, small or great, is termed هشير. Have we not this meaning in Job xxxviii. 10?—“When I measured for it my decree,” or “boundary,” as we have in margin of R.V. See also Job xxvi. 10; and Gesenius under חק No. 2. Thus the verb means to buy and sell in the sense of measuring out. In Arabic it has come to be used only of “long measure.” The explanation of the word by Gesenius does not at all square with such expressions as לשבר בר, xlii. 3, and לשבר אכל, ver. 10. They are Pi’ēls, and the English translation is the only reasonable one, to buy corn, to buy food. If Gesenius were right, it should be, to heap up corn or food. When used as a noun, as in xlii. 1, we would say that a more literal translation would be, “When Jacob saw that there was merchandise in Egypt.”

G. LANSING, D.D.

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## BREVIA.

**Dante and Delitzsch.**—Nothing is more delightful than to watch the irresistible working of the personal element in that curious and costly product—a literary and historical critic. Professor Elmslie lately called the reader's attention to a paper by Professor Sayce in the American magazine *Hebraica*, which, as he says, "bristles with ingenious, not to say audacious, emendations" (*EXPOSITOR*, February, 1888, p. 150). I do not see why he hesitated to use the second epithet; but knowing how often a guess of this ever-active pioneer has been verified, I should not like to direct a cheap sarcasm against his as yet very doubtful god Sheth. No one who has been trained in a severe school of Hebrew philology is likely to be convinced by Professor Sayce's essay, and therefore I do not see why the veteran Franz Delitzsch takes such pains to refute it (*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 1888, Hist. III., pp. 124-126). Why not have let it stand as a proof of the versatility and ingenuity of one who is primarily a comparative philologist and Assyrian scholar, and only by way of relaxation a Biblical critic? A more stimulating writer than Professor Sayce it would be difficult to find; and his individuality, which colours all that he writes, is the great secret of his charm. Professor Franz Delitzsch is himself full of a potent individuality, and the time was when he had it quite as little in restraint as his much younger antagonist. And even now—turn to the first number of the same *Zeitschrift* for 1888, and read his most interesting contributions to the study of Dante. I must not dwell on those details of his article which appeal to the Dantophilist proper, though I know that many English theologians are students of Dante. But is not this remark a proof of "subjectivity" equal to anything in Professor Sayce's essay?—"Veltro is the anagram of *Lutero*. Of course, Dante knew nothing of this. It is an accident, but a Divine accident, i.e. one appointed by God."

The reference is to the famous greyhound in the first canto of the *Inferno*. Delitzsch admits that Dante expected the great reformer to come from the family of Can Grande della Scala, but thinks that, like Isaiah, Dante mingled the distant with the near future. I cannot follow Delitzsch in this, nor do I see what is gained by it; but I am interested in it as a deduction from a view

in which I have myself followed Delitzsch, that, for the sake of susceptible minds, especially in the first ages of the Gospel, a providential guidance may have been given to the utterances of "inspired" persons, and so the literal fulfilment of ancient prophecies may in some sense be admitted even by a historical critic.

T. K. CHEYNE.

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**The Woman's Language of Chaldæa.**—The critic of Dr. Delitzsch's *Assyrian Dictionary* in the last number of THE EXPOSITOR has fallen into error upon one point. He is alluding to Dr. Delitzsch's reading of *naqbu* for the Accadian *eme-sal*, and his rendering of the supposed Assyrian word by "Female Language"; and he adds: "Upon this statement a whole theory about the Sumerian and Accadian language was built up by Delitzsch, Haupt, Sayce, and Hommel. But quite recently Dr. Bezold has proved that the reading *naqbu* is a mistake for *eme-sal*, and thus this elaborate and wonderful theory falls to the ground with a crash."

With Dr. Delitzsch's theory and its fate I have nothing to do, but an Assyriologist ought to know that the theory put forward by myself, and adopted by Hommel, has no connexion with it or with the reading *naqbu*; indeed it presupposes that this reading is incorrect. The facts are very simple. Certain of the pre-Semitic texts of Chaldæa are written in a form of Accadian, which shows extensive signs of phonetic decay, and seems to have been the dialect spoken in Sumer or Southern Babylonia. The same decayed forms are qualified in the "syllabaries" with the two ideographs *eme-sal*, which signify "the language of a woman," reminding the linguistic student of the numerous cases in which a peculiar "woman's language" is spoken, distinct from that of the men. That such a woman's language existed in Accad is the theory which I have propounded, and I have always protested against the idea that the ideographs *eme-sal* were shown by the word *naqbu* (which by the way, ought to have been *naqbitu*) to represent a mere grammatical error.

A. H. SAYCE.

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WITH reference to the statement of Prof. Sayce on this subject, I would call attention to the following extracts. In the *Academy* of May 11th, 1878, Prof. Sayce wrote: "Another interesting fact disclosed BY THE SYLLABARIES<sup>1</sup> is the existence of a woman's language among the Accadians." In consequence of this statement Dr. Haupt wrote (*Die Akkadische Sprache*, p. xxix), "Der Erste, der in *émé sal* die Bezeichnung für eine besondere Weibersprache bei den Akkadiern zu erkennen glaubte, war meines Wissens A. H. Sayce." The explanation of the ideograph *émé sal* by "Woman's Language" was first given by Delitzsch, and Dr. Haupt thought that "it was the technical term by which the old Babylonian grammarians designated the lower Babylonian dialect."<sup>2</sup> It is true that Dr. Delitzsch was the first to read *émé sal* as *naqbu*, and to explain it by the word "female," but it is equally true that the theory of a "woman's language" was previously held by Prof. Sayce (as I have shown above), and by Lenormant (*La Magie*, p. 399, German edition). The statement by Dr. Bezold on this subject is as follows: "His view (*i.e.* that of Dr. Delitzsch) was also held previously by Sayce and Lenormant. I have however recently examined the tablet, and found that these two signs (*naq-bu*) do not exist upon it at all; but instead of them there are parts of the ideograph *émé sal*, of the true reading and meaning of which we are just as ignorant as we were twenty years ago" (Bezold, *Remarks on some Unpublished Cuneiform Syllabaries*, p. 2). It seems to me a logical consequent that Prof. Sayce's theory is either proved by the explanation of *émé sal* given by Dr. Delitzsch, especially as he himself says that the existence of a woman's language is disclosed by the syllabaries, that is to say, by the term *émé sal*, or that it falls to the ground when it is proved that *émé sal* does not mean "Woman's Language," and that it cannot be at present explained. I therefore stand by the sentence in my review to which Prof. Sayce takes exception.

The suggestion that we should expect to find *naqbitu* instead of *naqbu*, (which Dr. Delitzsch actually read!) *i.e.* a feminine instead of a masculine form, was made so far back as 1883 by Dr. Haupt, who, by the way, would read *naqbatu* (*Die Akkadische Sprache*, p. xxviii). Which form is to be read cannot at present be decided.

E.

<sup>1</sup> The capitals are mine.

<sup>2</sup> *American Journ. Philology*, v., p. 69.

## A STEP IN ADVANCE ON THE QUESTION OF EARLY CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

Two recent publications suggest to me the desirability of again looking at the question of the organization assumed by the Early Church, in order to see where—if at all—ground has been gained. While the discussion on this subject was still going on in the pages of *THE EXPOSITOR*, there appeared a little book, by Dr. Hatch,<sup>1</sup> which partly supplemented and partly popularized the results of his Bampton Lectures. It was explained in the preface that this work was designed less for scholars than for the general reader: it was put forward as a sort of outline sketch, or rough draft, for a more elaborate work which the author was preparing, and which was intended to contain the evidence for the views which it embodied. A writer who was jealous for his own literary reputation might perhaps have avoided such an order of proceeding, but in the interests of historical study, I think that we have much reason to be grateful to Dr. Hatch for adopting it. The student too often finds himself in the position of not being able to see the wood for the trees; he is lost in the multitude of details; he gropes his way among facts which he cannot be said to understand, because he fails to see the organic connexion between them; there is nothing to rouse his interest and intelligence; the ardour of study evaporates under the depressing weight of unmanageable materials. Under such circumstances, no service can be greater than when a broad and vigorous hand traces out the leading principles which underlie the ill-digested mass, and reduces

<sup>1</sup> *The Growth of Christian Institutions.* London, 1887.

it to order; opens up the avenues which lead from part to part, connecting things near with things remote, and throws over the whole the various play of light and shade. To have some generalizations, some guiding principles, is the great thing; it does not follow that they are at once to be received as something final and unquestionable. It is well that the student should be encouraged to test and criticise as he reads. So it is that little by little the generalizations are brought into harmony with the facts, and that permanent advances in knowledge are made.

It seems to me then that a volume like *The Growth of Christian Institutions* was in any case a gift to be welcomed, and especially coming, as it does, from a writer who possesses an exceptional skill in the broad and lucid handling of complicated details. The power in question was conspicuous in the *Bampton Lectures* for 1880, and it is equally conspicuous in the little volume by which the lectures have been succeeded. It cannot fail to be stimulating and light-giving. The larger work which we are promised may be years before it is ready, but in the meantime these "hints to the wise" are sure not to be thrown away. Already they have begun to bear fruit, and fruit which is not less valuable because it takes the form mainly of challenge and criticism. The July number of the *Church Quarterly Review* contains an article on "Ancient and Modern Church Organization," which is chiefly devoted to Dr. Hatch's essay. It is excellently written, with the fullest courtesy and consideration, though from the standpoint of a declared opponent, with very competent knowledge, and with abundant power of clear and incisive statement. For these reasons, and because it seems to me that the writer has succeeded in happily formulating more than one point on which it should not be difficult to arrive at an understanding, I am tempted to make his article the subject of a few remarks. I am the more tempted to do

this, because it seems to me to cover just the period in regard to which discussion is likely to be profitable. In looking back over the series of papers which appeared in THE EXPOSITOR last year, the conclusion is impressed upon me that in regard to the *origines*, strictly so called, of Christian organization—the first period, which might be considered to end at about the year 150—we shall do well to wait a while before we pronounce. The question of Church organization cannot here be isolated from a number of other questions on which scholars are not agreed, and on which they are not likely to be agreed in the near future. I felt this especially in reading Dr. Harnack's paper, which was in many respects the weightiest of all the contributions to the series. Its methodical procedure and searching analysis of the documentary evidence furnished a model, which I hope that we shall try to imitate. But it proceeded from a number of assumptions in regard to the literature of this early period, and more especially in regard to the Books of the New Testament, for which we in England are not yet prepared. With all deference to our German friends, and with full recognition of their labours on these points, we should like to work out the problems for ourselves; and we should like to do so in a way which compels us to ask for time.

I think, therefore, that in regard to those portions of the inquiry which fall within this period, we shall do well to pause for the present, and let the hypotheses which we have before us digest in our minds in connexion with the whole body of the literature to which they belong. But for the next period—the period from the middle of the second century to the Council of Nicæa—I think that we are nearer to arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. I am encouraged in this belief by the clear issues which the writer in the *Church Quarterly* has raised in the review of which I have spoken. He challenges Dr. Hatch's conclu-



sions under four main heads. (1) He questions the view that in the Church of the first age—the ante-Nicene Church, we may say—there might be two bishops of one see. (2) He contends that episcopacy was from the first not congregational, but diocesan. (3) He will not allow that the early communities were independent of each other. (4) I gather that, though he does not seem to press the point, he is still of opinion that the rudiments at least may be found, before the fourth century, of national Churches.

Now on all these points I incline to think that Dr. Hatch is nearer to the truth than his critic, and I propose to state very briefly my reasons for thinking so. It is particularly easy to state these reasons, because they do not turn upon any conflict of opinion as to fact, but only upon a single consideration of a more general kind. With the reviewer's statement of the facts I am nearly always content. It seems to me that he has not only stated his facts correctly, but that he has made to them additions of considerable value. The evidence that he has drawn from Professor W. M. Ramsay's travels in Phrygia is entirely to the point; so too are the data which he has collected in regard to the Church of Cappadocia, and his analysis of the list of African bishops. In these instances he has contributed new material to the common stock already available, and he has done so in a thoroughly interesting and instructive manner. The exception that I am disposed to take is not to his facts, but to his way of approaching them, and to the inferences which he draws from them. Perhaps I shall make this clear if I take an illustration from another field. It seems to me, then, that the procedure of the reviewer is like that of those textual critics who approach the study of the New Testament from the point of view of the *Textus Receptus*, as if that had a prescriptive right in its favour, and every deviation from it must be made good by proof as strict as that which would pass in

the law-courts. Such a method seems to me to be inappropriate to a historical inquiry of this kind.

I find myself arriving at different results simply through approaching them from the other end. The reviewer does not exactly forget, but he dismisses from himself, as if it did not affect his reasoning, the truism that ecclesiastical institutions, like all others, must have had a beginning. They did not spring into full maturity all at once. To connect their origin with their subsequent history we see that there were certain stages which they must almost inevitably pass through. And we naturally watch the evidence, as it rises before us, to see which of those stages it indicates as existing at the time to which it refers. The reviewer argues from the finished product backwards, but does not concern himself with the process of growth. Dr. Hatch, on the other hand, as I understand him, is concerned mainly with that process; he watches the formative influences at work, and the first thing that he looks for is the evidence in the symptoms it affords that such and such a stage has been reached. There can be no question which of these methods is the more scientific. But the object of the reviewer is apologetic rather than scientific. In his eagerness to defend a certain form of Church constitution, he seems to me to suspect attacks against it where they are not intended. I hope to return to this point before I have done, and I shall be glad if I can succeed in allaying his uneasiness on this score. But I must first follow him through the issues which he has raised, and show how I think that he has missed the mark in regard to them. They all serve to illustrate the difference of which I have just been speaking, between the same facts regarded as steps in a process of growth, and regarded as quasi-legal proofs of the existence or non-existence of some particular feature of organization.

I. The first question that meets us is that as to the

possibility of two bishops existing simultaneously in one see. Of course from our modern point of view such a thing is impossible. But do we do right in projecting these modern associations backwards into the first age of the Church? Surely there must have been a time when no such rule existed, and it cannot have been otherwise than gradually formed. Most of us believe that there was a time when the same person might be called indifferently *πρεσβύτερος* or *ἐπίσκοπος*. But if so, there would be as many *ἐπίσκοποι* in a Church as there were *πρεσβύτεροι*. And though this state of things soon gave place to the monarchical episcopate, a further process would be necessary to determine the extent of the bishop's jurisdiction. In a small or average-sized city there would naturally be only a single bishop, though we cannot even assert so much as that at all positively. The case would be simple where all the Christians could meet in a single congregation; but what of those places where there were several scattered congregations? Such congregations would be formed in the first instance quite innocently, and without any idea of violating Church order. The order for them to violate was not yet constituted. It is very probable that in the Ignatian Letters we see the beginnings of such order. The writer is urgent upon those whom he addresses to rally round the bishop; but the bare fact of his urgency on this point shows that it was not something that could be taken for granted. We do not know how Ignatius himself would have dealt with the case of the larger cities, like Rome or Alexandria. The reviewer in the *Church Quarterly* refers to the supposition that there may in some cases have been different bishops for the Jewish and the Gentile sections of these larger communities. It is well known that the hypothesis of such simultaneous episcopates has been suggested by the difficulty of otherwise accounting for the early lists of bishops, especially at Rome. I am by no

means sure that this hypothesis is devoid of probability. In favour of it is the fact with which we are familiar from the sixth chapter of the Acts, that the Jews were in the habit of forming synagogues for members of the same class or nationality; we read that there were at Jerusalem separate synagogues for Jews who belonged to the class of Libertini and natives of Cyrene and Alexandria, on the one hand, and for natives of Asia and Cilicia, on the other.<sup>1</sup> In like manner we know that there was a synagogue at Rome specially called "the synagogue of the Hebrews."<sup>2</sup> That being the case, we should not be surprised if a similar arrangement had been adopted at first in the Christian communities, and gradually given up as the Gentile converts outnumbered and absorbed the Jewish. At least we have no reason to think that there was any rule against a double episcopate to stand in the way. If the gradual separation of the bishop from the presbyters was one result of experience, we may very well believe that the limitation to a single bishop was a further result of the same experience, marking a distinct stage in the history of the office.

All this is so natural and so probable *a priori*, that we do not do wrong to approach the later evidence with it present to our minds as a hypothesis. What then do we learn from that evidence? Does it support the hypothesis or does it not? There are three crucial instances: the instance of Hippolytus, the instance of Novatian (with which we may group that of Meletius), and the 8th Canon of Nicæa. We shall not, I think, be far wrong, if we take these three instances as marking so many stages in the history of the rule disallowing the presence of two bishops in one see. In the case of Hippolytus that rule is still unformed; in the case of Novatian it is forming; in the Nicene Canon it is

<sup>1</sup> Meyer thinks that five distinct synagogues are indicated; Wendt only two. The Greek seems to favour the latter supposition.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*, 9909; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii. 517, ed. 2.



definitely formed and, though not yet hardened in practice, it has obtained a permanent place in Church law.

I am glad to see that the writer in the *Church Quarterly* accepts the results of the luminous investigations of Dr. Döllinger about Hippolytus. These investigations have put an end to the mystery which enveloped that prominent but indistinct personality. Hippolytus was a bishop; but even Eusebius did not know of what see he was bishop. Pope Gelasius, at the end of the fifth century, made him bishop of Bostra in Arabia. Somewhat later, in the middle of the seventh century, a tradition arose that he was bishop of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber. The Bostra story needs no refutation now that we possess the *Philosophumena*, and Portus had no bishop before the year 313. The truth was that Hippolytus was a second, or secessionist, bishop of Rome. He appears to have separated from Callistus, the occupant of the Roman see in the years 217–222, on grounds partly personal and partly doctrinal, and to have formed a rival congregation, of which he was elected bishop. In this separatist position he remained throughout the episcopates of Urbanus (222–230) and Pontianus (230–235). The two bishops were together banished to Sardinia by the civil power in 235. This seems to have led to a reconciliation, as a result of which both resigned office; the two parties united in the election of Anteros (235–236), and the schism was healed.<sup>1</sup> The banishment to the mines of Sardinia proved a sentence of death to both the now reconciled rivals. They both died within a year, their bodies were conveyed together to Rome, and they were both interred on the same day. The writer in the *Church Quarterly* recognises the truth of this version, though he goes rather too far in saying that Hippolytus did not recognise Callistus as bishop.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Döllinger has shown

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger: *Hippolytus and Callistus*, p. 67 f. E. T.

<sup>2</sup> *Church Quarterly*, p. 316.

reason for thinking that Hippolytus did at first recognise Callistus,<sup>1</sup> and that the breach occurred as the result of subsequent controversy.

But the remarkable thing about it all was the extraordinary quietness with which so serious a secession was received. We might have expected that it would make a stir throughout the Christian world; but it did nothing of the kind. We will not say exactly that it was hushed up, but at least no one seems to have been disposed to draw attention to it. The causes appear to have been twofold. On the one hand, Hippolytus was a writer of whom the whole Church was proud. Since the death of Irenæus he was by far the most learned man in the West; there was a genuine respect for him which even his secession might in some measure enhance, as he was the advocate of the stricter, and as many would think, the loftier view. On this ground there would be a general wish to shelter his reputation, and to make use of his powerful aid in the controversies with heresy. And on the other hand the act of secession did not offend against the Christian conscience as it would have done at a later day. It was beginning to dawn upon the Christian consciousness that there ought not to be two bishops in one place, but it was as yet only dawning; it had not yet become an acknowledged rule and law of the Church.

A further step was taken in the controversy with Novatian. This controversy repeated in many respects what had happened little more than thirty years before in the case of Hippolytus. But here there is this distinction, that the election of Cornelius, which took place in 251, from the first was not recognised by the party of Novatian. The state of the case seems to be this. Cyprian himself proceeds with caution as soon as he hears of the election of Cornelius and of the opposition raised by Novatian.

<sup>1</sup> *Hippolytus and Callistus*, p. 93.

He sends Caldonius and Fortunatus to Rome, with instructions to make inquiry into the exact state of the facts. When once their report is received, his own course seems to be quite clear; he enunciates in unequivocal terms the very principle which we are discussing: when a bishop has once been appointed and approved by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and the laity, no second bishop can be set up (*intellegant episcopo semel facto et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et iudicio comprobato alium constitui nullo modo posse*).<sup>1</sup> The question touched Cyprian on the point where he was strongest; no other ruler of the Church had thought so much or so long on the theory of the episcopate; his own mind was made up, and he was prompt to act upon the principle which he laid down. But he needed to bring that principle home to the conscience of the Church. It was by no means so clear to every one as it was to him. Novatian himself had played a prominent part in the affairs of the Church of Rome; he enjoyed a reputation for unblemished orthodoxy; like Hippolytus he belonged to the Puritan party, and was scandalised at the laxity of Cornelius; but he evidently was not shocked, as Cyprian was, at the idea of a dual episcopate. He objects to Cornelius, not that he was not rightly ordained, but that he *ought not* to have been ordained; his charges were those of personal unfitness, which, according to Cyprian, were made too late. They might, if entertained by the body of the Church, have been a bar to the ordination of Cornelius, but they could not make that ordination invalid. Cyprian's view was that which the Church at large has adopted; and this action of his no doubt contributed largely to its adoption; but it could not count on universal acceptance at that time. Not only did Novatian himself entirely ignore it, but he found no difficulty in obtaining a following. Both in Rome and in other parts

of the Christian world Novatianist Churches arose by the side of the Catholic, with bishops and a fully organized ministry of their own.

A further proof that Cyprian was in advance of his age on this point, and that the general Christian conscience, though disposed to follow him, did not do so with equal decision, is to be seen in the tenderness with which the Novatianist schism, and the Meletian after it, under somewhat similar circumstances, were treated. The question of the Novatianists was one of those with which the Council of Nicæa had to deal, and it did so in the 8th Canon. The terms of readmission offered to the Novatianists were liberal in the extreme. Where the Novatianists were in undisputed possession, and there was no Catholic bishop or congregation by the side of theirs, the Novatianist bishop and clergy might keep their full rank and privileges; but where there was a Catholic bishop he must act as such, though he might, if he pleased, leave his Novatianist brother in the enjoyment of his title; if he did not consent to this, the Novatianist was to sink to the position of a *chorepiscopus*, or presbyter. Contrast for a moment this treatment with that accorded to heretics! The fault of Novatian and his followers was like that of those who do wrong for the first time, and before they have been clearly warned of the consequences. At the time when the schism began the mind of the Church upon the subject was forming; at Nicæa it was formed. The end of the 8th Canon contains a distinct formulation of the principle by which the Church was thenceforth to be guided; it explains that the measures above-mentioned were to be taken, '*that there may not be two bishops in one city.*'<sup>1</sup>

II. The next point in dispute is as to the constitution of the primitive communities: were they congregational, or

<sup>1</sup> We need not go into the parallel case of the Meletians, which was dealt with in a very similar manner. See Socrates, *H. E.*, 1, 9.



were they diocesan in anything like our modern sense? Dr. Hatch maintains the former view; the *Church Quarterly* maintains the latter. I have already expressed my sense of the value of the facts which the reviewer adduces in support of his position. They are valuable in themselves and as helping us to define and give precision to our ideas, but I am afraid that they do not seem to me to have a very direct bearing upon the point to be proved. An obvious way of engaging with this position would be to march round its flank. Let me ask the reviewer to consider how the propagation of Christianity first began. It began through the forming of little groups of converts at the great stations along the Roman roads which St. Paul, and after his example probably other Apostles, took as the route of their missionary journeys. These groups of converts would meet at first in a single house, then they would throw out off-shoots, and two or three such centres of meeting would spring up in the same city. But the early Church was essentially urban. St. Paul and his lieutenants wisely concentrated their strength on the points where they could produce the greatest effect. For many a long day the dwellers in the villages were "pagans." But even if they had not been it would not have made much difference. The "country" of the ancients was a different thing from ours; it was not sprinkled all over with villas and homesteads; the rule was, at least over large tracts of the empire,<sup>1</sup> for the labourers to live in the cities or small townships and to go out to their work every morning. It would therefore be no hardship to them to worship in the city; in any case they would come to the city long before the city would go out to them. The complete Christianizing of country as well as town was a slow progress; it had not gone on far when the State itself became Christian. What then do

<sup>1</sup> Where this description does not apply, *choriepiscopi* seem to have been appointed.

we see? We see communities with a well-defined centre, but with no definition of their circumference. Until the Churches extended so far as to touch one another, the circumference did not need any defining. It is an anachronism to think of a province as mapped out into districts and those districts into parishes, like an English diocese. There is no evidence of any such method in the first missionary efforts. What division there was, seems to have been of a different kind: St. Paul was to go to Gentiles, St. Peter to Jews; but antecedently there was nothing to prevent two distinct centres, one Gentile and one Jewish, arising in the same city. If we are to give a name to these primitive communities with their bishops, "congregational" will describe them better than "diocesan."

III. What was the relation of these communities to each other? Were they welded together into a compact organization? Were they federated? Ultimately no doubt they were; but this too was a matter of time. In the last quarter of the second century, the pressing questions of Montanism and the Paschal Controversy caused "synods" or "conferences" to be held. But it would be a mistake to regard these tentative efforts of the Church to find for itself corporate expression as stereotyped upon the later lines. It seems to me that Dr. Hatch has stated the case exceedingly well. "At first such conferences were held irregularly. There was no stated time or occasion for them. There was no fixed president. There was no limitation of the area from which their members were drawn."<sup>1</sup> I cannot see anything in this description that is not strictly in accordance with the facts. And when Dr. Hatch goes further, and instances the Council of Ancyra as showing that this state of things lasted on into the fourth century, I cannot dissent. The impulse to the federation of the Churches arose out of the need for concerted action; but

<sup>1</sup> *Growth of Ch. Inst.*, p. 121.

I doubt very much if history records a case in which the necessity for combination determined from the first the form which such combination should take, and in which nothing was gained from subsequent experience. If there was one man to whom more than another the carrying out of the federation of the Churches was due, that man was Cyprian. The league of bishops was the engine which he used for reducing to order the refractory members of his own flock; and to the same league of bishops he appealed in his controversy with Stephen.<sup>1</sup> A council like that which Cyprian convened to deal with the question of re-baptism, with its eighty-seven bishops from Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, was a truly representative assembly. The ground was already prepared when the alliance of Christianity with the State, on the accession of Constantine, led to the systematic organization of the Church on the basis of the civil divisions of the Empire. The holding of provincial synods twice a year is regulated by the 5th Canon of Nicæa. This was supplemented by the 2nd Canon of Constantinople. It does not indeed appear that these Canons were by any means always observed; by the time of the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, the prescribed two meetings a year had fallen into disuse and had to be re-enacted; but theoretically, full provision was made for the regular administration of the affairs of the Church.

IV. On the fourth and last point I do not understand that the reviewer himself lays any stress. It is of course in vain to look for any traces of national Churches during the ante-Nicene period. There could not be national Churches before there were nations, or while the civilized and Christian world was all embraced in the same imperial system. I agree with the reviewer that the early pre-eminence of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch is due rather

<sup>1</sup> See this well brought out in O. Ritschl, *Cyprian von Karthago*, Göttingen, 1885.

to civil than ecclesiastical influence, but this does not carry us far on the way towards national Churches. These were really a product of the West, and date from the invasion and settlement of the barbarians.

And now that I have gone as far as this in combating his conclusions, I feel that I must make my peace—or at least try to make my peace—with the *Church Quarterly* reviewer. I fear that he will think me unkind in arguing so persistently against what are clearly with him articles of faith, or at least pledges of his loyalty to the Church to which he belongs. I too am a member, and I hope not a disloyal one, of the same Church. But I cannot think that any question of loyalty is at stake in the questions which we have been discussing. I see no reason why they should not be treated strictly on their own merits apart from any ulterior issues.

If we are to bring in such considerations, I can only say that the inquiries which have of late been made into the early history of the Christian ministry seem to me to result in an Eirenicon between the Churches. The dove returns with an olive-branch in its mouth. The inquiries in question do, I think, stand in the way of aggressive partisanship, but I do not see how they can shake a position deliberately taken up. Our confessional differences are indeed reflected in primitive Christianity, but not as mutually exclusive. They represent not conflicting and irreconcilable conceptions of the original constitution of the Church, but only successive stages in the growth of that constitution. The Church passed through a congregational stage, and (if we exclude the activity of the Apostles as something exceptional) it also passed through a presbyterian stage. If any one wishes to single out these stages and to model the society to which he belongs upon them, he is zealous for a pure and primitive polity; he



clings to the Bible and what he finds in the Bible; he will not allow himself to wander far from that ideal which he thinks that Christ and His Apostles have left him. Can we condemn him for this? Shall we not rather say, *εὐδοκίμειτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ*?

Nor yet need that prevent us from thinking that we have a "more excellent way" of our own. We do not think it right to limit the promises and their working to a single generation. The whole Christian world was in a state of movement which did not cease with the death of the last Apostle. The impulse once given to it was too strong to spend its force so soon. I cannot myself think that fifty years, or even a hundred years more or less in the date at which an institution became fixed, makes so vital a difference in its character. The cold eye of science may look at these things, and point out the causes that were in operation. Those causes were the fruit of human experience, groping its way towards the means best adapted to its end, the preservation and due transmission of the Word. Even science will probably decide that there has been a "survival of the fittest," that under the conditions of those times a better constitution could not easily have been devised. Though I could not entirely agree with him, I was glad to find Prof. Rendel Harris, in his interesting contribution to our former discussion, say a good word for the Montanists. But does he seriously think that a Montanistic Church would have brought down Christianity to our own day, as the Church of Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, and Augustine has brought it down? To do so, he must exercise a stronger flight of the imagination than I am capable of. I would guard myself against being supposed to imply that what is good once is necessarily good always; but I know nothing in the history of the Church which belies the conclusion, that both the great and conscious decisions and the imperceptible accretion of changes

have been for the best relatively to the conditions out of which they took their rise. The scientific investigator will see in this "survival of the fittest," —not "fittest" in the abstract but fittest under given circumstances—or the "instinct of self-preservation." But from the point of view of religion we may look behind the chain of secondary causes, by no means ignoring them or attenuating their force, but seeking to get at their higher significance, and in that higher significance we may see revealed the finger of God.

W. SANDAY.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was in type an elaborate work has appeared, *The Church and the Ministry*, by Rev. C. Gore. This too deals specially with the early stages of the history, and is sure to demand careful consideration.

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## THE MELCHIZEDEK OR HEAVENLY HIGH PRIESTHOOD OF OUR LORD.

### PART II.

FROM the Person of our Heavenly High Priest, our Priest after the order of Melchizedek, we turn to His priestly work. It "fulfils" the priestly work of the older covenant in each of its three particulars, Offering, Intercession, and Benediction.

I. *Offering*. We have already seen that the priesthood of our Lord began with the moment spoken of in His own words, "And I, if I be lifted on high out of the earth, will draw all men unto Myself" (John xii. 32), and that that moment is fixed by the immediately following language of the Evangelist, "But this He said, signifying by what manner of death He should die" (ver. 33). In other words,

Christ's being "lifted on high" began with His crucifixion. Then He entered upon that peculiar glory which belonged to Him, and which marked Him out as a High Priest after the order of Melchizedek. If however the statement of our Lord, thus made in the immediate prospect of His death, possess more than usual importance owing to the distinctness with which it points to the time when His Melchizedek priesthood and His priestly offering began, it is not less important from the light which it throws upon the nature of His priestly offering itself. The words "out of," out of the region of, out of the sphere of, "the earth," cannot be overlooked, any more than the same form of expression may be overlooked in ver. 15 of chap. xvii. of the same Gospel, where the Redeemer prays, "I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them out of the evil one." In both cases the preposition used in the original, so far from being loosely used, is the very hinge upon which the meaning of the language turns. Hence, accordingly, it is the teaching of our Lord Himself that not only is His crucifixion the beginning of His priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, but that it is so, because it broke the bond by which He had been bound to earth, because it was the introduction of the full reign of spiritual and heavenly power.<sup>1</sup>

Starting from this point therefore, our fundamental conception of the offering of Him who ascended the cross of Calvary to die must be, that it was an offering of *life*, not of death. If being "lifted on high out of the earth" was its deepest and most spiritual characteristic, it follows as a necessary consequence that the thought of it cannot be confined to the moment when He died. The death then endured may be a necessary part of the offering; yet it may be only a subordinate part of it. It may take its place in our conception of all that was then transacted by the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. THE EXPOSITOR, October, 1888, p. 290.

Lord, not so much because of what it is in itself, as because it lends a special colouring to the life yielded up to God ; because it makes the life offered one which passes through a special experience, a life of a special mode and habit, a life gained through death, and bearing the marks of death. The fact however will still remain, that that condition of being, described by the words lifted on high out of the sphere or region of the earth, must imply, as its main constituent, a higher state of existence to which He who thus dies is raised. This state of existence begins before the moment of death. The Redeemer of the world entered upon it not only when He bowed His head and died, but when He was nailed to the accursed tree, and when those hours of darkness came upon Him during which, in the extremity of mortal pain, He displayed all the completeness of His submission to His Father's will, and all the tenderness of His love and pity towards men. As it began too before He died, so also it continued after death had been endured, and when, as Priest in whom all priesthood, as Offering in which all offerings culminated, He presented Himself to His Heavenly Father in the free, joyful, uninterrupted service of that sonship which now belonged to Him, not in His Divine nature only, but also in His human nature, as the Firstborn among many brethren. Our fundamental conception of the offering of the Heavenly High Priest must thus be that it was an offering not of death but of life.

Upon the subject now before us our thoughts are apt to be confused by the circumstance that the associations of the present day with the word "blood" differ so widely from those with which that word was connected in the Hebrew mind. Every reader of the New Testament has observed that redemption is continually spoken of as due to the "blood" as well as to the "death" of Christ. Thus, to select only a few instances, it is said, "Take heed



unto yourselves, . . . to feed the Church of God which He purchased with His own blood"; "The Beloved, in whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of His grace"; "But now in Christ Jesus ye that were once far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ"; "And through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross"; "Knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, . . . but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ"; "The blood of Jesus His Son cleanseth us from all sin"; "And they sing a new song, saying, Worthy art Thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for Thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with Thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation" (Acts xx. 28; Eph. i. 7, ii. 13; Col. i. 20; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19; 1 John i. 7; Rev. v. 9). Reading passages such as these, we almost inevitably understand the word "blood" to have the same meaning as the word "death"; and hence, not in popular only but in scientific theology, the whole great work of our atonement is supposed to have been consummated when the Saviour died for us on the cross. "Then," it is urged, "the only begotten and well beloved Son of God bore, as our Substitute, the penalty of our transgressions. Then He made a full, perfect, and sufficient oblation for the sins of the whole world. Travel back in thought to Calvary: see the love that flows from His streaming wounds; believe that He there died in thy room and stead: and, from the remembrance of His finished work, draw those powerful considerations which will lead thee to live henceforward for One who died for thee."

This is no unfair or exaggerated representation of Christian sentiment widely entertained in every age of the Church's history. The minds of men have been directed

to the cross, and to the cross alone; and the word "blood" has been understood as if it were the equivalent of death. The whole sacrifice of Christ has thus been regarded by not a few who have earnestly embraced it as nothing more than the penalty of violated law, while men of little depth of spiritual emotion or tenderness of feeling have even spoken of the Christian system as if, when so presented, it shocked our natural susceptibilities and invited us to enter again into the shambles of heathenism. It is unnecessary to say anything of such a mode of speaking as this last mentioned. Justice to the view thus travestied would rather seem to demand the grateful admission that, partial and one-sided as it is, it has yet proved itself powerful for good in the hearts and lives of men. How has it deepened in many a follower of Christ that sense of sin without which there can be no true faith! To what sighs of contrition, to what tears of penitence, to what searchings of heart over faults and shortcomings, has it often led! What separation from the evil of the world, what saintly lives, what love and self-sacrifice, what deeds of heroic virtue, has it not unfrequently produced! We know but a small part of these things. They seldom come to view in the heat and bustle of our daily life; but every one who has opened his eyes has beheld enough to tell him of the innumerable quiet and gentle and loving spirits that, nourished by such aspects of the truth, have drawn as near as human frailty would allow, to Him who was meek and lowly of heart, and whose very presence, without our speculating regarding Him, gives rest to the soul. Notwithstanding this however, the view thus taken of the plan of our redemption is in a high degree imperfect; and, though in exceptional cases, it may not have hindered the manifestation of the Christian life in its most perfect beauty, it has unquestionably tended to divert the thoughts of the Church as a whole from the supreme importance of that sacrifice of

herself in which alone either her worship of God or her service of man can be accomplished.

The imperfection now referred to will become manifest, and the work of the Heavenly High Priest will be better understood, if for a moment we call to mind the ritual of the Jewish law. For, according to that law, the death of the animal selected for sacrifice did not atone for sin. Sin was not thereby "covered." The offerer had no doubt identified himself with his victim. Its life had been set before God as a representation of his life; and in the shedding of its blood, so that the victim died, the offerer had acknowledged in symbolic act that death was the meet reward of the transgressions with which he himself was chargeable. Another step however had to be taken before atonement was made. The blood obtained by slaughtering was given, either upon ordinary occasions to the priest, who smeared it upon the horns of the altar, or upon the great Day of Atonement to the high priest, who sprinkled it upon the Mercy-seat, that he might thus bring it into the closest contact with God; and only when this was done was the atonement complete, sin covered, and the broken covenant restored. Atonement, in short, was found not in death for sin, but in the use afterwards made of the blood thus shed in death.

Now in all this process it is to be kept steadily in view that the blood was the life. Even when it was shed it did not cease to be the life. It was indeed the life under a peculiar aspect, for it was life which had passed through that death which was the wages of sin. But it was still the life; and as life, not death, it was brought into fellowship with the living God, and made one with Him.

Such was, briefly, the ritual of the law: and when we turn to the manner in which that ritual was "accomplished" in Christ, the same ideas again meet us in the teaching of Scripture upon this point. Let the following

words of Dr. Westcott, to which more weight will be attached than to anything that the present writer can say, be attentively considered.<sup>1</sup> “Thus, in accordance with the typical teaching of the Levitical ordinances, the blood of Christ represents Christ’s life (1) as rendered in free self-sacrifice to God for men; and (2) as brought into perfect fellowship with God, having been set free by death. The blood of Christ is, as shed, the life of Christ given for men, and, as offered, the life of Christ now given to men, the life which is the spring of their life (John xii. 24).” And again: “It will be evident from what has been said, that while the thought of Christ’s blood (as shed) includes all that is involved in Christ’s death, the death of Christ, on the other hand, expresses only a part, the initial part, of the whole conception of Christ’s blood. The blood always includes the thought of the life preserved and active beyond death.”<sup>2</sup>

In the light of what has been said, we are now prepared to form a scriptural and clear conception of what is to be understood by the Offering of our Heavenly High Priest. It *began* with the cross, with the moment when He was lifted on high out of the earth; and when, separated from all that was material, local, or limited, He was able to enter upon a spiritual, universal, and everlasting priesthood. Then, as One bearing the sins of all who had committed, or should afterwards commit, themselves to Him in faith, He yielded up His own life, and theirs in His, as the penalty due to sin. For Himself and for the members of His Body He accepted the sentence, “The soul that sinneth shall die”; while at the same time He bowed Himself in submission to the law so mysteriously linked with that sentence, that, as things are in a present world, it is only through

<sup>1</sup> While thus referring to Dr. Westcott, the writer hopes that he may also be permitted to refer to what he has said upon the point in a long note in his volume on *The Resurrection of our Lord*, note 56, pp. 274–304. The note will be found much fuller than what he has been able to say here.

<sup>2</sup> Additional note on 1 John i. 7.



death that we can conquer death and find the path to life. Thus He bore the sins of His people in His own body on the tree. He submitted to the punishment of a violated law, acknowledging that the law was holy and righteous and just and good. On the cross He gave Himself for us, the just for the unjust; so that when we think of Him as the Victim upon which our help is laid, and identify ourselves with Him by faith, we may see that in Him our sins are expiated, and that they no longer bar our admission to the Divine presence and favour.

All this however was no more than the first stage of the offering made for us by our Heavenly High Priest; and the mistake of many is to think that, as the offering was begun, so also it was finished on the cross. In reality, only the initial step was taken when Jesus died. As the blood, or in other words the life, of an animal sacrificed under the law was liberated in death, not merely that the offering might be completed, but that the true offering might be made by the sprinkling; so the blood, or in other words the life, of Christ was liberated on the cross, that His true offering might be made by the surrender of that life to God in a perpetual service of love, obedience, and praise. No doubt, as the eternal Son, He had always stood in this relation to the Father; and had the "Me" of John xvii. 5 expressed only the eternal sonship, the prayer, "And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me," would have shown that He was about to return to that original relationship. Throughout the ages of eternity He had been before His incarnation the Father's delight, rejoicing always before Him; and human thought cannot enter fully into the nature of that blessed fellowship. It was the glory which He had with the Father before the world was, the glory with which in His High-priestly prayer He prayed that He might again be glorified. But there was this difference between the two glories, that He had now taken our humanity into union with His

divinity, and that the life which He carried with Him into the heavenly sanctuary was not simply the life of God, but of the Man Christ Jesus. This was His "living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God," in which as One who had "fulfilled all righteousness," He then presented Himself to Him who is all in all, and in union with whom, not merely in reconciliation to whom, Divine life is found.

As too Christ's people had been identified with Him in the earlier, so also they are identified with Him in the later steps of the offering which He thus made. In no part of His work does the Redeemer stand alone. He never ceases to be the Mediator between God and man, the Head of the body, the Representative of the whole line of His spiritual descendants. Even in heaven He presents Himself to the Father, saying, "Behold I and the children which God hath given Me"; "In the midst of the congregation will I sing Thy praise" (Heb. ii. 12, 13). When all this is done our Lord's offering is complete. The end of the Christian covenant is obtained in Him, and in the members of His body it is ideally, if not yet actually, realized.

Had our space permitted, it might have been well to pause here for a moment, and to show how important to the theology of the Church is the view now taken of the sacrifice of Christ, by looking at some of the extraordinary questions that have been raised, in ages down even to our own, with regard to the disposal of the Redeemer's actual blood shed upon the cross. Let one short extract from the writings of Dr. Jackson suffice to indicate them.

"Though His blood," says that eminent writer, "whilst it was shed or poured out, did lose its physical or local union with His body, though one portion of it were divided from another, yet no drop of it was divided from His infinite person; and that which the Romish Church would transfer unto each several crumb of bread or drop of wine in the eucharist is originally and properly true of the several drops of divisibilities of Christ's blood which was shed for us; while

Christ was in every one of them, indivisibly in every one of them God was, the Godhead was and is personally united to all of them.

“Whether all and every portion of His blood which was then shed were, by the power of the Godhead, re-collected and reunited to His body, as His body was to His soul at the resurrection, we cannot tell : God knows. But this we know and believe, that the self-same blood which was then shed, whether it were gathered together again or remained dispersed, whether it were reunited to His glorified body or divided from it, is still united to the Fountain of Life, to the Godhead in the person of the Son.”<sup>1</sup>

Questions such as those suggested in this extract most men, we imagine, will feel it to be very undesirable to raise. They deal with words rather than ideas. They invite us to the consideration of topics upon which it is utterly impossible for us to form a definite conception. The very statement of them is apt to grate upon our feelings of reverence and piety ; and at the best we must leave them, as we found them, unanswered. They spring from that grossly realistic conception of the blood of Christ against which, when rightly interpreted, the whole language of Scripture guards us. Guided by it, let us rather see in the “blood” the life of Christ, and in the presentation of that blood in heaven the presentation of His life as the completion of His offering. The instant that we do so these questions and all others like them disappear.

Nor is this the only benefit to be derived from the view which we have been taking of the Offering of Christ. Another and still greater is, that it brings the moral and religious element of obedience and submission to the heavenly Father into the essence of the Christian system, and into the very conception of Christian faith. The theology of the Reformation, dealing so much with legal relations, and used as it was never intended to be used, has obscured this great truth. Perhaps it may be almost said that there were two theologies of the Reformation. There

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, vol. ix., p. 597. Comp. also Alford *On Heb.* xii. 24.

was the theology of the controversy with Rome, of polemical tracts, of books, of creeds, of intellectual statements. But there was also the theology of the hearts of those by whom that controversy was carried on, as the fire of Divine life burned within them in zeal for God's glory and the good of man. They did not think of the latter. It was too real, too true, too much the very condition of all their life and action, to be thought of. It was *themselves*: and the existence of themselves had to be taken for granted in what they did. They thought therefore mainly, perhaps only, of the former; and the theology which they handed down to subsequent generations, highly valuable as it was *in its own place and for its own work*, became narrow and one-sided when those who followed them took it for the whole. A true systematic theology must always be the living expression of the age in which it appears. The Reformers wrote only half of what they were. They lived the other half without knowing and reading, and consequently without writing it. The effect appears to have been that the Church of later times, in devotion to what the Reformers taught, has not sufficiently considered what they would have taught had they foreseen that their teaching was to be the norm for times less earnest and for hearts less glowing than their own. She has too often dealt with Christianity as if its essence were a thing of legal forms, and as if its demands were a deduction from certain legal observances. She seems to need reviving here; and the first great truth to produce such a revival may be said to be, that the Offering to God on the part of the Lord, who is the Head of the Body, was not completed on the cross, but was after the cross, and is even now, made by Him who is our living High Priest in heaven.

Such then is the offering of our High Priest. Let us pursue the subject a little further, and we shall see that, in the light in which we have been regarding the Offering of



Christ, it most of all possesses those characteristics which make it the fulfilment of the whole sacrificial system of the older covenant. For

1. As an offering of life it "*accomplishes*" *all the separate offerings of the law*. The thought of this general accomplishment must obviously be included in any true conception of the Saviour's offering, for He came to accomplish not one part only but all the parts of the law which had expressed the will of God to Israel. If however we confine the offering of Christ to His death on Calvary, the highest and most important sacrificial rites of Israel have in Him no corresponding fulness. We may speak of Jesus as the true Sin- or Trespass-offering, but what of the burnt- and peace-offerings which belonged to a still more elevated region of the religious life? Those indeed who see Christ's priesthood in His earthly ministry have not this difficulty to contend with, and they may behold Him as the perfect Burnt-offering in the zeal for His Father's glory which was always flaming up within His soul, in His eagerness to work the work of Him that sent Him while it was day, and in that calm serenity of spirit with which He was able to exclaim, "I do always the things that please Him." In like manner they may behold the fulfilment of the peace-offering in that peace and joy which so filled the Redeemer's breast, even in the midst of the troubles by which He was surrounded, that He was able to speak of "My peace," "My joy," and of Him who had put the bitter cup of sorrow into His hands as "My Father." But this cannot avail us if we believe, in conformity with the whole tenour of Scripture, that the priestly work of Christ is mainly executed in heaven, and that the zeal for God, the eagerness for work, the never-failing obedience, the peace, the joy, the sense of filial relationship to His heavenly Father, which He exhibited on earth, were rather the preparation for the priesthood than the manifestation of its functions.

Principal Fairbairn, of Glasgow, not adopting this view, is constrained to say that "the service of the peace-offering bears respect more directly and properly to the people of Christ than to Christ Himself."<sup>1</sup> That cannot be. Whatever is fulfilled in the members of the body must first have been fulfilled in the Head. Besides which, the natural order of religious thought and act is overturned. The burnt- and peace-offerings must follow, not precede, the sin and trespass-offerings; and, if we are to seek for the fulfilment of the latter on the cross alone, there is no room for the fulfilment of the former. The conception of Christ's priesthood as a heavenly priesthood, and of the life that He now leads in heaven as the consummation of His offering, alone gives us the accomplishment, and that too in their appropriate order, of everything that was involved in the separate offerings of the law. In the life *now* offered to the Father and before the Father's throne we see, not only the perfected Sin and Trespass, but the perfected Burnt- and Peace-offerings. There the life won through death is surrendered into the Father's hands. There it burns in the never-ceasing devotion of love and praise. There it is passed in the enjoyment of a fellowship with God undisturbed and glorified. And thence it descends to all the members of the body, so that they find, in Him who gave and still gives Himself for them, reconciliation, union, nourishment for a heavenly service, and the comfort and joy of a heavenly feast.

2. As an offering of life Christ's offering is *complete, embracing in its efficacy the whole life of man*. In this respect the offerings of the law were necessarily incomplete, and so also must be the offering presented in any single act of the life of Christ. But when, as our High Priest and Representative, Jesus offers His life to God, that life covers every stage or department of our life. There is no part of our

<sup>1</sup> *Typology of Scripture*, vol. ii., p. 353.

life in which, by the very fact that He lived a human life, the Redeemer of the world did not share. Must we labour? He laboured. Must we suffer? He suffered. Must we be tempted? He was tempted. Must we have at one time solitary hours, at another move in social circles? He spent hours alone upon the mountain top, and He mingled with His disciples as companions and friends. Must we die? He died. Must we rise from the grave? He rose from it on the third morning. Must we appear before the Judge of all? He appeared before Him who sent Him with the record of all that He had accomplished. Must we enter into eternity? Eternity is now passing over Him. More even than this has to be said; for our High Priest not only moved in every one of these scenes, He has also consecrated them all, and made them all a part of His offering in heaven. In each He was a conqueror, and the fruits of His conquest in each are made ours. By that part of His offering which belongs to the cross He finished transgression and made an end of sin. In that part of it which belongs to His continued priesthood He presents His perfected human life, and ours in His, as the trophy of His victory to God.

3. As an offering of life Christ's Offering is *everlasting*. No aspect of it is more frequently insisted upon in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the only question respecting it is, In what sense are we to understand the statement? Does it simply mean that His sacrifice, once completed on the cross, avails for the everlasting salvation of all who cast themselves upon it; or that Christ Himself, having finished His priestly work on earth, is now enjoying an endless reward in heaven? The contrast dwelt upon in Hebrews x. leads to a thought still deeper and more important than either of these. It leads us to think of the Offering of Christ as going forward everlastingly. We appear to fall short of the full meaning of the statements of Scripture

when we say that Christ now executes His priestly office in heaven by intercession and benediction. If that be all, it could hardly be said that He is a priest, for Offering was and is the main function of the priesthood. In the fact that Christ's life is His Offering we have the explanation of that Offering's everlasting character. His life is presented continually to God; and in it the children of God, whose own it is made by faith, are kept consecrated for evermore. The efficacy of the legal offerings lasted for a time. This offering never ceases, and its efficacy never fails.

4. As an offering of life Christ's Offering *is made once for all, and cannot be repeated*. The offerings of the law needed to be constantly repeated. It lay in the very nature of the case that they could not be "one sacrifice for sins for ever" (Heb. x. 12). It is true that the blood of the victim represented life, and that as life it was sprinkled upon the Mercy-seat. But the victim in which the offerer was inclosed, with the blood, that is with the life, of which he was for the time clothed, did not really live, and its life-blood gradually disappeared. Hence the need of constant offerings. The blood, the life, had to be constantly renewed. But the life laid by our High Priest before God is that of One who, having died once, dieth no more, and who lives an everlasting, unchanging life in heaven. His offering therefore is one and once for all, not simply because of its excellency at the moment when first made, but because it never ceases, and never can cease, to be offered. It is simply impossible to repeat it, for we cannot repeat what has not been first brought to an end; and since the offering on the part of the eternal Son is His life, it follows that His offering must be as eternal as Himself.

That Offering of our Lord, then, which is the leading function of His priesthood was only begun, and not completed, on the cross. It is going on still, and it will go on for ever, as the Divine and perfect sacrifice in which our



great Representative and we in Him attain the end of all religion, whether natural or revealed, as that sacrifice in which we are made one with His Father and our Father, with His God and our God.

We proceed to the second part of our Lord's priestly work in heaven.

II. *Intercession.* We have already seen that the second function of a priest in Israel was intercession for the people; and further, that by intercession we are to understand more than prayer in the usual acceptance of that word. The Greek word translated intercession implies a wider range, alike of thought and action, than is expressed by the word prayer. It includes transacting with God on man's behalf, so that every relation between the Creator and the creature may be perfected. This function then of the high priest of Israel is fulfilled in our Heavenly High Priest, of whom it is said that "He ever liveth to make intercession for us" (Heb. vii. 25).

Of the intercession thus spoken of prayer is indeed the primary part, through which every other blessing is procured for us; and it would seem as if in the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John we had a striking illustration of what the prayers of our Heavenly High Priest are. That chapter constitutes the very centre of the fourth Gospel, the holy of holies of the sacred tabernacle which is formed by the gospel as a whole. With no feelings but those of even deeper than common reverence may its words be touched; but on that very account they require also to be considered with the utmost possible faithfulness, and every turn of expression ought to have its due weight assigned to it. This faithfulness has been exhibited by the Revisers, and we need therefore have no scruple in using the Revised instead of the Authorized Version to illustrate the point before us.

Let the reader then weigh the import of the following

verses when, in conformity with the original, the past is substituted in them for the perfect tense. Ver. 2, "Even as Thou gavest (not, hast given) Him authority over all flesh." Ver. 3, "Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ" (not, Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent). Ver. 4, "I glorified Thee on the earth, having accomplished the work" (not, I have glorified Thee on the earth, I have finished the work). Ver. 6, "I manifested Thy name unto the men whom Thou gavest Me out of the world" (not, I have manifested Thy name). Ver. 8, "And they received them, and knew of a truth that I come forth from Thee, and they believed that Thou didst send Me" (not, And they have received them, and have known surely that I come out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send Me). Ver. 12, "And not one of them perished" (not, And none of them is lost). Ver. 14, "And the world hated them" (not, And the world hath hated them). Ver. 18, "As Thou didst send Me into the world" (not, As Thou hast sent Me). Ver. 21, "That the world may believe that Thou didst send Me" (not, That Thou hast sent Me). Ver. 23, "That the world may know that Thou didst send Me, and lovedst them even as Thou lovest Me" (not, That the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them even as Thou hast loved Me). Ver. 25, "O righteous Father, the world knew Thee not, but I knew Thee, and these knew that Thou didst send Me" (not, O righteous Father, the world hath not known Thee, but I have known Thee, and these have known that Thou hast sent Me). Ver. 26, "And I made known unto them Thy name, and will make it known, that the love wherewith Thou lovedst Me may be in them, and I in them" (not, And I have declared unto them Thy name, and will declare it, that the love wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them, and I in them). We have enumerated all the changes of the kind of which we speak, and the list is a remarkable one.

Considered even in itself, it is sufficient to show how deliberately the past tenses were chosen by our Lord. It is true that the Greek readings are occasionally uncertain. Scribes seem to have been confused by the frequent transitions from the perfect to the past, and from the past to the perfect, tense. But, after making all due allowance for this, the repetition of the past so frequently, in circumstances where we should expect the perfect, is sufficient to show that it was our Lord's design to bring out some aspect of the truth which would have failed to find utterance in any other method of expression. What that aspect is it may require time for the Church, under the influence of the new and more correct renderings now given, to discover. Meanwhile it is enough to say that this at least is evidently involved in them: that our Lord is before us, not in the position of one who, surrounded by the sufferings of earth and in the immediate prospect of death, is praying for His people, but in that of one who prays for them as if He were already at the right hand of the Father, in His heavenly abode. At the moment when He utters this prayer He is less the humbled and dying than the exalted and glorified Redeemer. He has passed onward in thought to the accomplishment of His work, and to the time when He shall be engaged in the application of it to those for whom He died. In the other parts of the fourth Gospel and in the earlier Gospels we follow Him amidst the sorrows of His earthly state, and see Him drinking the cup of trembling which had been put into His hand. Here we are permitted to follow Him within the veil; and these words of His are not so much words which He pours forth while the shadow of the cross is resting upon Himself and His disciples, as words which rise from Him to the Father when, no more in the world (ver. 11), He prays for those who are left in the world to carry on His work. How true is the instinct which has always led the Church to designate this prayer

the High-priestly prayer of Jesus! In heaven only is the perfect High Priest, and the words of the prayer belong, at least in spirit, to that upper sanctuary. They are the concentration of all the prayers of the heavenly Intercessor, as He bore on earth, as He bears now, and as He will bear for ever, the wants of His people before the throne of Him to whom He never prays in vain.

Not alone however in the chapter of St. John's Gospel now considered do we read of the intercession made for us by Christ in heaven. Elsewhere He says: "And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Advocate, that He may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth. I will not leave you orphans, I come unto you" (John xiv. 16, 18). He prays that the Spirit may be given us; and in the gift of the Spirit is included all that is needed by the Church (comp. Luke xi. 13 with Matt. vii. 11),—all fitness for duty, all strength to resist temptation, all knowledge and light and faith and love and hope and patience. Everything, in short, by which either the Church or the individual soul is prepared for the warfare and pilgrimage of this life and for the inheritance of the life to come is comprised in the grace bestowed through the intercession of the Heavenly High Priest, who is thus the fulfilment, the accomplishment, of every intercession offered under the older covenant by the priests of Israel.

III. *Benediction or Blessing.* We have seen that this function was discharged by the priests of Israel, and we may expect, after all that has been in other respects revealed of the work of the Heavenly High Priest, that this priestly function will also be fulfilled by Him. We cannot indeed enlarge upon it now. It opens up a subject as extensive as it is important, for we must regard the priestly blessing of our Lord as involving that communication of His Spirit, by which, having first consecrated His own human nature through the same Spirit, He then consecrates



the members of His body. To enter upon so wide a topic is here, for the present at least, impossible. We turn from this specific form of our Lord's blessing to His benediction or blessing in its more general character. Let it not be said that we can do without an authoritative and definite benediction from on high, because we know that, in providence and in grace, in our persons and our families, in our work and in our suffering, "to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are called according to His purpose" (Rom. viii. 28). It is the Christian's strength indeed to be assured that "every good act of giving and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom can be no variation, neither shadow that is cast by turning" (Jas. i. 17). He believes that His Father in heaven would shower down blessings with a full hand upon all His creatures, "in the city and the field, in the fruit of the body and the fruit of the ground, in the fruit of their cattle, the increase of their kine, and the flocks of their sheep, in their basket and their store, in their coming in and going out" (Deut. xxviii. 3-6). But all this is not enough. In the weakness of our nature we need to see the channel opened by which the blessing is conveyed; and to behold, as it were, its streams actually conveyed to us. Thus it was that Joseph, assured as he was of his father's love to his children, brought them to Jacob that the aged patriarch might lay his hands upon their heads, and might bless them before he died; and thus it is that it never fails to be a source of precious consolation to the members of the family of some departing saint, when they can gather around his bed and, ere his lips close in death, are permitted to hear him bless them. In all this nature speaks in its deepest and holiest tones; and the faith of Christ sanctifies and elevates, instead of destroying, such feelings. The Apostolic Epistles, accordingly, almost invariably conclude

with a benediction; and the Church of Christ has never permitted any of her services to close without one.

Here again therefore the Heavenly High Priest recognises the needs and meets the longings of His people. From this point of view there is a peculiar force and tenderness in St. Luke's narrative of the Ascension, when he tells us that "Jesus led His disciples out unto they were over against Bethany; and He lifted up His hands and blessed them. And it came to pass while He blessed them, He parted from them, and was carried up into heaven. And they worshipped Him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God" (chap. xxiv. 50-53). May we not even be allowed to think that this was the attitude in which Stephen beheld that Lord who would strengthen by a special revelation of Himself the first martyr in his dying hour? Full of the Holy Ghost, "he looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God" (Acts vii. 55, 56). Sitting, not standing, is the attitude which the Redeemer is described in Scripture as occupying at the right hand of God. It is the attitude of rest and victory gained. Standing is the attitude of one actually engaged in priestly service. Here therefore it indicates either prayer or blessing, most probably the latter; and the dying martyr may have been reminded of that scene upon Mount Olivet of which, if he did not witness it, he must certainly have often heard, when his Lord, in the act of blessing him, pointed out the way by which he was to follow.

Still further, we may recall to mind the words of priestly blessing in Israel, which our Lord fulfilled, not only in their general spirit, but almost in the very words in which they were wont to be spoken, "The Lord bless thee and keep

thee," when He prayed, "Holy Father, keep them in My name which Thou hast given Me" (John xvii. 11). "The Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee," when again He said, "Father, that which Thou hast given Me, I will that, where I am, they also may be with Me; that they may behold My glory, which Thou hast given Me; for Thou lovedst Me before the foundation of the world" (John xvii. 24). "The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee and give thee peace," in the words of His last discourse, "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid" (John xiv. 27).

Such then is the work of the Heavenly High Priest. It corresponds to what we have already seen of His qualifications for it; and the effect produced is not less worthy of our regard than His fulfilment, in every other particular, of the earlier economy.

On the great Day of Atonement it will be remembered that, after the High Priest had finished his offering in the tabernacle, there followed his remarkable proceedings with the scapegoat, when he laid his hands upon its head, confessed over it all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, and then sent it away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness to perish there. This act closed the more peculiar services of the day. Sin was not only expiated but banished. The covenant was restored. The people were again united, however imperfectly and only for a time, to God; and were ready for that Feast of Tabernacles which commemorated the full tale of the blessings of the past; which as celebrated, at least in later times, gave promise of the most glorious blessings of the future; and of which, even more than of other festival seasons, it was said, that he who did not know its joy knew not what joy was. Yet this was

only the shadow of that more perfect blessedness which comes to the Christian Church through the work of her Heavenly High Priest: for in Him she has sin pardoned; she is loosed from sin; grace and peace are multiplied to her, as she enters upon and pursues her heavenward path,—"elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, in sanctification unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 2). That sprinkling seals for her an everlasting covenant. That festival season of highest and purest joy for which she has waited is come. The prophecy is fulfilled, that she shall keep her Feast of Tabernacles (Zech. xiv. 16); and, offering the firstfruits of all her increase, her oil and her wine as well as her corn, she leads a free, joyous, independent life, breathing that invigorating and quickening air, which though it be the air of the desert, is yet also the air of her journey home.

W. MILLIGAN.

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## THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

### IV. THE GREAT SALVATION, WHEREIN IT CONSISTS, AND HOW IT HAS BEEN OBTAINED (CHAP. II. 5-18).

THIS section is one of the most important in the whole Epistle. It is full of great thoughts, and also of exegetical difficulties, through which it will be my endeavour to steer my way as judiciously as possible, setting forth the views which commend themselves to my mind, without too anxiously enumerating or controverting the views which I reject.

Two things above all are taught in this section: (1) Wherein the "great salvation" mentioned in ver. 3 consists, and (2) how it has been obtained for men. The sum of the



doctrine set forth on these two topics is: that the great salvation signifies lordship in the world to be, and that Christ became man and suffered in the flesh, because that lordship being destined for men it was fitting and needful that He should descend into their present state, in order to make them partakers of the coming glory. He who was to open the kingdom of heaven to men subject to death by reason of sin, must Himself become man, and as man die, and by His death conquer and destroy Death. These thoughts concerning the nature and the way of salvation are introduced in verses 5-9. In verses 10-18 the doctrine on the second of the two related topics, the way or method of salvation, is defended and further developed and illustrated. What is there written must be reserved for future papers; in the present our attention shall be confined to verses 5-9.

On first thoughts one may be inclined to wonder why the writer does not speak of the great salvation in terms used by "the Lord," who, as he states, was its first preacher. The burden of Christ's gospel was, "the kingdom of God is come." The conception of the *summum bonum* implied in our text is lordship in the new world. Obviously it is the same thing in different terms; our Lord's idea modified. But why are the terms changed? what need for the modification?

Here, as so often throughout the epistle, the explanation is to be found in the apologetic aim of the writer. The conception of the *summum bonum* latent in this passage is not his exclusive, or even his favourite, view of the subject. It is one of many, making its appearance in a series of tableaux, then giving place to others. As indicated in the introductory chapter, nearness to God, unrestricted fellowship with God, is the conception most akin to his own mind; to which, had he been making a purely dogmatic or positive theological statement, he might have adhered

throughout. But his apologetic aim requires him constantly to keep in view what will help his readers. Therefore at this point he uses this mode of presentation, which fits well into his argument at its present stage, and enables him to meet one of the most urgent spiritual needs of the Hebrew Christians. To explain: He has, with ample Scripture authority, set Christ above angels; intrinsically, always, but especially in heaven. But beyond doubt He was lower too, on earth; not absolutely, but in certain respects constituting together the state of humiliation. That fact must be reckoned with and reconciled to his doctrine. The two he clearly sees to be perfectly compatible, but their compatibility is not apparent to his readers, and it now becomes his urgent task to make it plain to their apprehension. With this purpose in view he avails himself, with characteristic skill, of a passage from the Psalter. The value of the citation for him lies in the fact that in it the ideas of humiliation and exaltation are combined. The use of it determines the form under which the state of exaltation—salvation—must be presented, for in the Psalm it is made to consist in lordship over all.

The new section setting forth the nature and way of salvation opens thus: "For not to angels did He subject the world to come of which we are speaking." The reference to angels has misled some into the notion that from this point onwards to the end of the chapter we have a continuation of the discussion of the relative positions of Christ and the angels. It is a mistake carefully to be avoided, as exercising an unhappy bias on the exposition. The angels are not the theme of what follows; rather are they here respectfully bowed out, that they may give place to more important actors, in appearance less than angels in so far as human and subject to death, but destined to rise to higher heights, if doomed for a little while to descend to lower depths. Henceforth what we have to think of is

the great salvation, and the great Saviour; the sublime career of suffering through which He passed to glory, and prepared the way by which a host of redeemed men might follow Him. The contrast between Christ and angels exercises a certain influence on the form of the thought, but the thought itself is not a further contribution to the argument about angels.

The "for" with which the new section begins shows that the writer has in his mind what he has just been saying in his first admonition to his readers; but there is room for doubt as to what precisely is uppermost in his thoughts. Is it the *great* salvation, or is it the *human* agency by which it has been proclaimed? Probably both. He means to justify the use of the epithet "great" in reference to the gospel, and he means to emphasise the importance of man in connexion with the gospel salvation, both as recipient of its benefits and as the agent in its proclamation. The former end is served by identifying salvation with lordship in the "world to come"; the latter by laying stress on the fact that not to angels does that world pertain, whether as inheritance or as theatre of activity. "Not to angels, but to men," he means to say, but the antithesis is supplied not in this sentence but in the following quotation. *Not to angels, but to men.* Some think the intended antithesis is between the world to come—the new world of redemption—and the old world that is destined to pass away; and the thought: the *new* world is not subject to angelic sway as the *old* one has been. The construction is not justified by the order of the words in the sentence, in which "angels," not the "world to come," occupies the emphatic place. We have no right to find in this text a recognition of the dogma that in the old world angels exercised dominion; not even acquaintance with it, far less acceptance of it. What we ought to find rather is this sage counsel to Hebrews hankering after the past:

Give your minds and hearts to the new world ushered in by Christ, for in it lies man's highest hope—the great salvation, his ideal position of lordship realised. This new world belongs to man, not to beings of angelic nature. Humanity determines its whole nature, characteristics, and manner of coming into being.<sup>1</sup>

We come now to the citation which forms the basis of this implicit admonition and instruction. "But one hath somewhere testified saying": thus vaguely and indefinitely is the quotation from the Psalter introduced; the vagueness proceeding not from ignorance, but from the oratorical style which disdains accuracy in minutiae as pedantic and undignified.

The words quoted, as they stand in the 8th Psalm, have reference to mankind in general. This Psalm, like the 104th, is a hymn of creation, and after celebrating the glory of God as manifested in the visible world, and especially in the heavens as seen by night, it goes on to speak of the signal grace shown to man (who appears so insignificant physically in comparison with the celestial bodies) in constituting him creation's lord. In describing the honours conferred by God on the sons of Adam, the Psalmist appears to have in view what is written in the Book of Genesis concerning man when he was brought into existence. The first clause in the description of God's gracious visitation, "Thou hast made him little less than God," or as it is in the Septuagint and here, "than the angels," reminds us of the words spoken by the Creator when He contemplated the creation of the human race,

<sup>1</sup> Hofmann, who holds the view advocated in the text, that we are not here to find a new argument to prove the superiority of Christ over angels, adverts to the fact that ἀγγέλους wants the article and renders: "God hath subjected the world to come to beings who are no angels, no mere spirits." The γάρ connecting with what goes before he thus explains: The writer had spoken of a σωτηρία, but the bare idea of a salvation implies that the subjects of it are not angels, and what is implied he here commences a new paragraph by expressing. Vide *Die Heilige Schrift*. Band. v., p. 104.



“Let us make man in our image after our likeness,” and the other clauses seem to be a free poetic version of the charter by which the Maker of all conferred lordship over all other creatures on the being whom He had made in His own image. The reference to Genesis has indeed been questioned, but the resemblance between the Psalm and the history is so close that it is difficult to escape the inference that either the Psalmist drew inspiration from the historian, or the historian from the Psalmist. Which of the two alternatives is to be adopted depends on the critical question of priority in authorship. That the writer of our epistle found in the Psalm reminiscences of the book of origins I can hardly doubt, and for this reason, that all his representations of salvation in the early chapters rest on the accounts of man’s primary history contained in Genesis. Salvation is represented successively as lordship; as destruction of him that had the power of death, and consequent deliverance of man from the fear of death; and as a rest or Sabbatism; with obvious allusion to man’s original position in the creation, to the curse which overtook him after the Fall, and to God’s rest on the seventh day after He had finished His creative work.

The words quoted from the 8th Psalm have the same reference here as in their original place. The glorious things written there are quoted here as describing favours conferred by God on *men*. This many have failed to see. Because the passage is ultimately applied to Christ, it is assumed that it applies only to Him, and in consequence it has been maintained that the words as they stand, even in the Psalm itself, are purely and exclusively Messianic in import. This view misses the meaning of the writer, involves his argument in confusion, and is quite gratuitous. We are not precluded by the application made eventually to Christ, from applying the oracle in the first place to men in general. The two references are perfectly compatible,

and, indeed, the one involves the other. Whatever is true of man as man must be emphatically true of Him who loved to call Himself "the Son of man." Whatever is predicable of the first Adam, as God made him, is in a still more eminent sense predicable of the Second Adam. And, since the first man stood not in his integrity, whatever favour God continues to confer on men is conferred on them for the Second Man's sake; so that while we read the 8th Psalm as really referring to the children of men, sin notwithstanding, we must think of them as included in and represented by the seed of the woman who was to bruise the serpent's head, remove the curse, and restore paradise lost to mankind.

It is just in this way that the writer of our epistle views this Psalm. He regards the words, "Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet," as applicable to the sons of men, but not to them apart from Christ. He attaches great importance to this comprehensive reference, because the very doctrine he means to teach is, that in speaking of the great salvation he was really speaking of that lordship whereof the Hebrew prophet sang; in other words, that nothing less than that inheritance is the glorious hope and prospect of Christians. As surely as he believes that the great salvation concerns man, does he believe that the prophetic oracle he quotes refers to man. But while this is so, he is not conscious of any inconsistency in proceeding to speak of Jesus, as if he were THE Person of whom it is said in the Psalm, that God had made Him a little lower than the angels, and at the same time lord of all. For the other great doctrine he means to teach is that the lordship spoken of in the Psalm comes to men through the Man Jesus Christ, and must therefore belong to Him personally and pre-eminently.

But now, these things being admitted, a question arises here. By what right does our author take occasion from

the passage quoted from Psalm 8th to represent the sphere of lordship as "a world to come"? The Psalmist seems to have in view this material visible present world, for he speaks of such substantial, tangible things as sheep and oxen, beasts of the field, fowl of the air, fishes of the sea, as the subjects of man's dominion. To this question the writer does not furnish a direct answer, but he supplies us with materials out of which we can construct an answer for ourselves. First, like Paul in 1 Cor. xv., he lays the stress on the word "all" (ver. 8), and insists that it be taken in earnest; that is, that the dominion assigned to man be understood to be absolute and complete. Then he brings under the notice of the reader the actual state of matters which is patent to observation. Now, at this present, we do not in fact see all things put under man. Some, blinded by their pet theory of angelic dominion in the old world, think the reference here is to angels; as if the author meant to say: the dominion is not yet complete, the angels being yet unsubjected. But the supposed exception is not particularly open to observation. Neither is the alleged angelic reluctance to come under man's sway a very great grievance. If all were right in man's estate but that, there would be little to complain of. And surely it is not necessary to have recourse to this imaginary angelic obstinacy to prove that man's present state is not one of perfect lordship! It can hardly be said, "all would be right, the ideal of lordship would be realised, if only the angels would fall in." Alas! there are plenty of things to show that man is to a great extent not a lord, but a slave; a slave oftentimes in virtue of his seeming lordship, a slave at other times in spite of the limited lordship he does possess, at best a lord with a very insecure tenure, his inheritance being liable to be taken from him by time and chance, and sure to be taken away at last rudely by death. The Hebrews were conscious of being under something more

grievous than the yoke of angels—the grim iron yoke of Rome.

Man is not yet to all intents and purposes a lord. What then? Is God's purpose towards men to be fulfilled? If it is, the fulfilment must be a thing in the future, the present state of things being such as we see. And the fulfilment when it comes will be the world-to-come of our epistle. For the world-to-come does not mean something entirely distinct from, and having no relation to the present world. It rather means this world, where much is out of gear, put right, delivered from the curse, restored to a normal condition, death abolished, man made fit to be lord by temperance and sanctity and godliness, and no longer kept out of his inheritance by envious barriers, but actually exercising dominion, the meek inheriting the earth, and delighting themselves in the abundance of peace. Therefore it is not wholly future and transcendent, but in part present and immanent. "The hour cometh, yea, now is," said Jesus. In like manner here and throughout the epistle our author says in effect: "The new world of redemption is to come, and it is here. It is to come, for the ideal is not yet realised; it is here, for the work of realisation has commenced."

Such being the relation between the world to come and the present world, it is evident that the mention of the former in connexion with the quotation from the Psalter is not to be justified on the ground that it is a *part* of the "all," which is declared subject to man. "The world-to-come" is not a part of the all, it *is* the all. When the all shall really, fully, permanently, and inalienably, have become subject to man, then the world-to-come will be the present world. The justification of the reference to a world-to-come is simply that from the Scriptures it appears to be God's purpose that man should inherit all things, and that the fulfilment of that purpose is a thing we see not



yet. The author infers a world to come from the purpose of God and the present state of the world, just as further on we find him inferring a rest standing over for the people of God. His argument there is : the ideal of rest has never yet been realised ; it cannot remain a mere ideal ; therefore the perfect rest must come. Similarly here. The argument is valid if the assumption be conceded that all Scripture ideals must be realised. This assumption naturalism refuses to admit. To it Bible ideals are simply poetic dreams ; beautiful as poetry, but never destined to pass from cloud-land into the realms of fact.

One remark more I make on this prophetic oracle as used in this place before passing to speak of its application to Christ. There is latent in it obviously Christian universalism. The lordship belongs to *men*, not merely to Hebrews, though it is among the people of redemption that the consciousness of man's high destination finds its expression.

Having adverted to the state of things in the world at large as bearing on man's lordship, our author proceeds in ver. 9 to speak of what may be seen in Christ in reference to the same subject—in Christ the bright spot in a dark world. "Looking around us, we see not yet all things put under *man* ; looking unto Jesus, what see we there?" To this implied question the answer given is virtually this : "We see at once that which confirms the statement that man has not yet fully entered into his inheritance, and that which lays a sure foundation for the hope of the eventual fulfilment of the promise." "But Him who hath been made a little lower than angels, even Jesus, we do see, with reference to the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, that by the grace of God He might taste death for every one."

Two things strike one at the outset in this remarkable sentence, by which transition is made from mankind in

general to the man Christ Jesus. First, Jesus is spoken of as if He were the one man who had been made a little lower than angels. He stands out in the history of mankind as *the man made lower than angels*. That is as much a distinctive name for Him as the Son of man, or the Second Adam. Then, secondly, very noteworthy is the introduction of a reference to death in this application of the Hebrew oracle to Jesus. There is not a word about death in the Psalm. The thought of mortality or weakness may be latent in the question, what is man? and in the name *enosh*, but on the surface all is sunny, bright, cheerful. The one fact would seem to imply that for Jesus alone was the being made lower than angels in any emphatic sense a humiliation; the other may throw light on the nature of the humiliation.

Now as to the former of these two points. It is really the case that in the Psalm the being lower than God or angels is not mentioned as a humiliating feature in man's estate. It rather forms an element in his state of exaltation. Man's privilege and glory consists in this, that he has been made little lower than God, or Divine angelic beings—the Elohim—and appointed lord and head of creation. He is less than Divine, but the point emphasised is not that he is less than God, but that he is so little less, a kind of God on earth, as Jehovah is God in heaven. The inferiority to God does not stand in antithesis to the lordship; the two attributes are not incompatible or mutually exclusive, but harmonious and contemporaneous elements in one and the same condition. The question is whether our author, in quoting the Psalm, so understands the matter, or whether he does not rather regard the inferiority as detracting from the lordship, and therefore as an element that must be removed before the state of lordship can come to pass. The latter view has been very often assumed as a matter of course to be the truth. A recent writer thus puts the case. "The author, in the usual manner of rabbinical interpretation, fixes on an apparent paradox

in the old Testament text, and makes the solution thereof the key to the teaching of the Psalm. This paradox lies in the antithesis between the two statements, 'Thou hast made him for a little time lower than the angels'; and, 'Thou hast put all things under his feet.' The last statement it is urged (ver. 8) must be taken absolutely, including the angels as well as lower beings. We have therefore the doctrine of a temporary subordination of man to the angels, followed by his permanent elevation over them—a solution of the paradox which the writer seems to have facilitated by taking *βραχύ τι* of the Septuagint in the temporal sense—'lower for a little time.'"<sup>1</sup> On which I remark first, that my respect for the author of our epistle makes me very reluctant to consent to this degradation of him to the level of a rabbinical commentator; second, that he does not draw the proof of the present incompleteness of man's lordship from any supposed paradox in an old Testament text, but from observation of facts in the state of the world patent to all: "we, you and I, do not yet see," etc.; and thirdly, that it is an ungrounded and needless assumption that he understands the words *βραχύ τι* in a temporal sense—"for a little while." The phrase throughout may be taken as an adverb of degree; not of course to the exclusion of the temporal sense, for the two senses are not necessarily incompatible. Why should not the meaning of the oracle, both in its original place in the Psalm, and as quoted here, be, 'Thou hast made man only a little lower in nature than God or angelic beings'?

If this be indeed the sense, then we can understand how the writer of our epistle should regard Jesus as the only man to whom the predicate of inferiority to angels can be applied with emphasis as a predicate of humiliation. For while Jesus as man was lower than angels, just like other men, there was for Him in that fact, apart from all other

<sup>1</sup> Dr. W. Robertson Smith, in *THE EXPOSITOR*, vol. i., 2nd Series, p. 138.

circumstances of His earthly experience, humiliation enough. Other men were never anything else or higher, and so far from its being a signal humiliation to them that they are lower than angels, it is rather their glory to be little less than angels. But for the Son of God it was a descent to be made even *a* little lower than angels, by becoming man. In the case of ordinary men we wonder to what all but angelic heights of thought and worship those can arrive who began their being as “babes and sucklings,” flesh born of flesh. In the case of the man Jesus we are astonished to hear of the Son of God being born, wrapt in swaddling clothes, laid in a manger, a helpless, speechless infant. Yet while astonished, we believe, and gratefully acknowledge that out of the mouth of this babe and suckling God hath perfected His own praise, and by means of this Holy Child Jesus hath stilled the enemy and the avenger.

The assumption of human nature being what constitutes the humiliating inferiority to angels for Jesus, the phrase “made a little lower than angels” applied to Him becomes a synonym for the incarnation. But to complete our view of its meaning we must take into account the reference to the suffering of death. If the incarnation alone constituted the humiliation, then permanent inferiority would be the consequence, and the exaltation of Christ would involve the laying aside of His humanity. We must conceive of the humiliation as consisting in the assumption of humanity subject to suffering in various forms, death the supreme suffering included. Thereby the “little” of degree becomes a “little” of time. The patristic commentators were right in thought, though wrong in grammar, when they connected the clause “made lower than angels” with the clause, “for the suffering of death.” The true construction of the sentence is to regard *Ἰησοῦν* as closing up the subject—and all that follows as the predicate—reading “Him who was made lower than angels, *viz.* Jesus, we see so and so situated.”



But while the suffering of death belongs to the predicate it influences the writer's thought of the subject, and should also influence our interpretation of it. Death enters into his conception of Christ's humiliation, though he characteristically avoids introducing it into the definition thereof, because his aim is to set Christ's passion in a new light—even surrounded with a halo of glory.

Before proceeding to that great theme, I may make a passing remark on the terms employed to describe Christ's state of humiliation: "made a little lower than angels." It is not the way in which we would naturally speak of it. The description rather appears to our view artificial, and fitted to obscure rather than reveal the moral grandeur of the thoughts in verses 5-18. We are apt to feel that it were better for us to forget the angels, and translate the phrases which refer to them into their modern equivalents, throwing away the antiquated shell that we may get at the eternal kernel. Those who are so inclined are quite at liberty to do so. Only let us not forget that the shell was important to the Hebrews, and let us admire the sympathy and tact displayed by the writer in adapting himself to their modes of thought, in speaking of the great Christian verities—the nature of salvation, and the career of humiliation and suffering through which it was brought into existence—in terms which took them up at the point where they were and led them on to a more perfect insight into the genius of the Christian religion.

We come now to the *crowning of Jesus with glory and honour*. There is a crux for interpreters here, lying in the thought rather than in the grammar. The plain meaning of the text seems to be that Jesus was crowned with glory and honour with reference to the suffering of death, in order that by the grace or favour of God He might taste death for men. This rendering makes the crowning antecedent to death, a fact occurring in the earthly life of Jesus, an

exaltation in the humiliation, a higher even in the lower, a glory consummated in heaven but begun even on earth. But commentators almost with one consent regard such a view as utterly inadmissible. Till lately it does not seem to have entered into the mind of any of them as a possibility, and since one or two writers ventured modestly to propound it, it has been treated by the learned as out of the question. Referring to my advocacy of it in *The Humiliation of Christ*, Professor Davidson slyly pokes fun at me in a footnote, by remarking that my view contains "a fine modern idea, but one to which Scripture has hardly yet advanced,"—the fine modern idea being that "while it is a humiliation to die, it is glorious to taste death for others."<sup>1</sup> Such a verdict from such a quarter is enough to intimidate a modest man into the abandonment of the idea, and it has certainly led me very carefully to reconsider the text in the light of all that has been recently written upon it. I observe that the most recent writer on the epistle feels the fascination of the view advocated by Hofmann and myself, and I am happy to add by another theologian, for whose genius I entertain a very high esteem,<sup>2</sup> and admits that it has a Biblical foundation, and cannot be set aside as a merely modern idea.<sup>3</sup> The unmistakable, though somewhat timid sympathy of Dr. Edwards, gives me the needful boldness to restate and defend a view of this notable passage, which, after Hofmann, I advocated many years ago with youthful fervour and enthusiasm.

The ordinary view that the crowning refers to the exaltation in heaven, Christ's reward for suffering death, is beset with great difficulties, especially with this one, that it is not easy in accordance therewith to assign a natural

<sup>1</sup> *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 57, in Handbooks for Bible Classes Series.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Matheson, in an article on Christ's Exaltation in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the *Monthly Interpreter* for November, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by T. C. Edwards, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton: London, 1888.

sense to the words in the last clause of the verse. What meaning can one attach to the statement that Christ was exalted to heaven in order that He might taste death for every one? It is pathetic to observe the expedients to which interpreters have recourse to get over the difficulty rather than entertain the thought that the crowning was antecedent to death. The most plausible solution proposed is to assign to the verb *γεύσεται* a retrospective reference, and find in the last clause the doctrine that Christ's exaltation gave to His death going before redeeming efficacy—an indubitable Scripture doctrine, certainly, whether taught here or not. Some of those who adopt this expedient admit that the manner of expression lacks logical precision, and that the more correct way of putting it would have been, "in order that the death which He tasted might be for the good of all."<sup>1</sup> Bleek, our greatest authority, regards the retrospective sense assigned to the verb as inadmissible, and gets out of the difficulty by supplying after *τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου* the words *ὁ ἔπαθεν*, and rendering: "crowned for the suffering of death, *which He endured* in order that He might by the grace of God taste death for every man."

Considering the forced, unnatural character of both these solutions, I am constrained to ask interpreters, "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you" that the crowning referred to may be prior, not posterior, to death—an exaltation latent in the humiliation? If I am met with the sceptical question, With what glory and honour can the man Jesus be said to have been crowned on earth? I reply, With just such glory and honour as are spoken of in the third and fifth chapters of this same epistle: with the glory of a Moses and the honour of an Aaron; the glory of being the leader of the people out of Egypt into the promised land, that is, of being the "Captain of Salvation"; the honour of being the High Priest of men, procuring for

<sup>1</sup> So Ebrard.

them, through the sacrifice of Himself, life and blessedness. The glory and honour spoken of as conferred by Jesus may thus quite well be those connected with His appointment to the honourable and glorious office of Apostle and High Priest of our profession.

This, accordingly, is the thought I find in this text: Jesus, "crowned for death," to use the phrase of Dr. Matheson, by being appointed to an office whereby His death, instead of being a mere personal experience of the common lot, became a death for others, and a humiliation, was transmuted into a signal mark of Divine favour. This crowning had a twofold aspect and relation; a subjective and an objective side, a relation to the will of Christ and a relation to the will of God. It would not have been complete unless there had been both an act of self-devotion on the part of Christ and an act of sovereign appointment on the part of God. The subjective aspect is in abeyance here, though it is not forgotten in the epistle; it receives full recognition in those places where it is taught that Christ's priestly offering was *Himself*. Here it is the objective Godward aspect that is emphasised, as appears from the remarkable expression, "by the grace of God," and from the line of thought contained in the following verse, to be hereafter considered. There was a subjective grace in Christ which made Him willing to sacrifice His individual life for the good of the whole, but there was also conferred on Him by His Father the signal favour that His life, freely given in self-sacrifice, had universal significance and value.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is to the subjective aspect that Dr. Matheson gives prominence in the article previously referred to. Dr. Edwards' main objection to our interpretation of the crowning is based on an exclusive regard to the subjective aspect. "If," he argues, "the Apostle means that voluntary humiliation for the sake of others is the glory, some men besides Jesus Christ might have been mentioned in whom the words of the Psalm find their accomplishment. The difference between Jesus and other good men would only be a difference of degree."



By the expression *χάριτι θεοῦ*, "by the grace of God," grace or favour to us has very commonly been supposed to be meant. And some commentators, such as Ebrard, feeling such a reference to God's favour to men in Christ to be insipid and out of place, instead of bethinking themselves of the interpretation of the text here advocated, have rather sought refuge in the ancient reading, *χωρὶς θεοῦ*, "apart from God." The fact that so intelligent and independent a theologian adopts this desperate course serves to show what need there is for insisting on the thought that Jesus by the grace of God to Him tasted death for men: that His death, by being a death for others, was transmuted from a humiliation into a glory. One would think, from the common consent of interpreters to shun this view, that it was indeed only a "fine modern idea to which Scripture has hardly yet advanced." How far this is from being the fact I think it worth while, at the risk of being tedious, to show.

Kindred, then, to this famous text, understood as explained, is Christ's beatitude pronouncing the persecuted for righteousness happy;<sup>1</sup> Paul's statement to the Philippian Church, "Unto you it is given as a favour (*ἐχαρίσθη*) in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake";<sup>2</sup> and Peter's declaration to the strangers scattered abroad, "If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory and of God resteth on you."<sup>3</sup> Kindred also in import are all the texts in which Christ speaks of His approaching passion as His glorification, a mode of viewing the Passion very common in the Johannine report of our Lord's sayings. I only add to these citations a mere reference to the voices from heaven pronouncing Jesus God's beloved Son when He manifested at the Jordan and on the Mount of Transfiguration His willingness to endure suffering in connexion with

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 20.<sup>2</sup> Phil. i. 29.<sup>3</sup> 1 Pet. iv. 14.

His Messianic vocation, and in connexion therewith to the reflection occurring in the Second Epistle of Peter relating to the latter event, "He received from God the Father *honour and glory*, when there came such a voice to Him from the excellent glory, This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."<sup>1</sup> With these Divine voices stand in contrast the voices from hell uttered by Satan in the temptation. The God-sent voices say in effect, "Thou art My beloved Son because Thou devotest Thyself to the arduous career of a Saviour, and I show My favour unto Thee by solemnly setting Thee apart to Thy high and holy office." The Satanic voices say, "Thou art the Son of God, it seems; use Thy privilege, then, for Thine own advantage." God shows His grace unto His Son by appointing Him to an office in which He will have an opportunity of doing a signal service to men at a great cost of suffering to Himself. Satan cannot conceive of Jesus being the Son of God at all unless sonship carry along with it exemption from all arduous tasks and irksome hardships, privations and pains. God puts a stamp of Divinity on self-sacrifice, Satan associates Divinity with selfishness.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the crowning, as I conceive it, is an idea familiar to the New Testament writers. The only question that may legitimately be asked is, whether the thought I find in the text is relevant to the connexion of thought in the passage, and serviceable to the purpose of the epistle, that of instructing in Christian truth readers who needed to be again taught the merest elements of the Christian faith. To this question I can have little hesitation in giving an affirmative answer. Was it not desirable to show to men who stumbled at the humiliating circumstances of Christ's earthly lot, that there was not merely a glory coming after the humiliation, compensating for it, but a glory in the humiliation itself? This ethical

<sup>1</sup> 2 Pet. i. 17.

instruction was much more urgently needed than a merely theological instruction as to the purpose and effect of Christ's exaltation to heaven, *viz.* that it made His death already endured have universal significance and value. The exaltation needed no apology, it spoke for itself; what was needed was to remove the stigma from the state of humiliation, and such, I cannot but think, is one of the leading aims of the epistle. The blinded Jew said, "How dishonourable and shameful that death of Jesus; how hard to believe that He who endured it could be Messiah and God's well-beloved Son!" The writer replies, "Not disgrace, but grace, favour, honour, and glory do I see there; this career of suffering is one which it was honourable for Christ to pass through, and to which it well became the sovereign Lord to subject His Son. For while to taste death in itself was a humiliation to the Son of God, to taste it for others was indeed most glorious."

It is a recommendation of the interpretation here advocated, that under it the crowning is not subsequent to the being made lower than angels, but, as in the Psalm, contemporaneous with it. It scarcely requires to be added that the glory *in* the humiliation is not exclusive of the glory *after* it. The full thesis of the epistle on this theme is: "First lower, then higher; nay, a higher in the lower." Most commentators find in its teaching only the former member of the thesis; I find in it both. The two truths, indeed, are complementary of one another. There could not be an exaltation subsequent to the humiliation unless there were an exaltation immanent in it. "Exalted because" implies "exalted in." No man who does not appreciate the latter truth can understand the former. The posthumous exaltation must be seen to be but the public recognition of the perennial fact, otherwise belief in it possesses no spiritual value. That is why in this apologetic effort to unfold the true nature of Christianity the writer

insists on the glory inherent in Christ's vocation. And in doing so he is in harmony with himself in his whole manner of presenting truth. In his view of the glory of Christ there is the same duality we found in his view of the Christian era. The world-to-come is future, and it is here; even so the exaltation of Christ is in heaven, and yet also on earth.

A. B. BRUCE.

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## STUDIES IN PRACTICAL EXEGESIS.

### I.

#### PSALM XXXII.

THIS 32nd psalm was the favourite of two great men, who, different as they were, agreed in their deep sense of sin and their exaltation of grace—St. Augustine and Martin Luther. It was their favourite, because it was one of the penitential psalms, and both of them had learned the sweetness and the bliss of repentance, which, in its purest and truest form, is “the eager and enthusiastic struggle of the soul to reach and fasten itself to God.”<sup>1</sup> Both of them have, not only blistered this psalm with their tears, but tried to sing it to the bright allegro music which they overheard from the angels' harps. How could they sing the penitential psalms to doleful chants when they had caught sweet fragments of the angelic melodies? For “*there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.*”

But St. Augustine and Luther are not the only noted persons who have loved this psalm. God's word is like the sword at the garden of Eden; it turns every way, and

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Phillips Brooks.



sometimes pierces where you would least expect it. As if to show that the most frivolous follies do not shut out heaven-sent glimpses of the deeper and more serious side of life, this psalm was also a favourite with Diana of Poitiers,<sup>1</sup> whose name has such a doubtful sound in French history. No one who has used this psalm for himself can afford to be a Pharisee, and look down on those who travel in the miry ways of the world. God may see many latent possibilities of good in those of whom we are tempted to despair, and a work of grace may be going on in the soul which some providential event may suddenly bring to a surprising maturity. It would be no kindness to condone the vices of worldlings, but our Saviour teaches us to be as hopeful as we can, and to divide mankind not into the saved and the unsaved, but into the children who live in the home-like sense of God's fatherhood, and those who, through ignorance or folly, have wandered away into a far land.

Yes; those who seem to be at the top of human happiness are not on this account to be congratulated. You know that fine old English poem of Sir Henry Wotton's, called "The Character of a Happy Life." Well, the psalmist here tells us how *he* would describe this character. All men seek happiness; but the only durable happiness is that of the truly righteous, that is, of the forgiven man. Loud as are the songs in the houses of luxury, there are carols whose note of joy is purer and deeper.

*"Be joyful in Jehovah, and exult, ye righteous"; for "happy are ye, whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered."*

How full of meaning are these verses when taken together! How far they soar above the melancholy and

<sup>1</sup> On the remarkable popularity of the Huguenot Psalter, see Henry's *Leben Johann Calvins*, ii. 161. The gentlemen and ladies of the court had each their favourite psalms (even Queen Catherine de Medicis).

incomplete wisdom of Ecclesiastes! "Weary of earth and laden with (his) sin," the wise man wrote the results of his sad experience, and among them he mentions this—that "there is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good and sinneth not" (Eccles. vii. 20). It is true, the author of the 14th psalm had said so before; but then the psalmists and prophets belong to the little flock of those who have given up all for God, and who are sometimes thought to be too severe on those who still cling to worldly pleasures. To the testimony of Ecclesiastes no exception can be taken. He had tried the world, and found that, in his experience, the few good men were absolutely lost among the crowd of bad. "*One man among a thousand have I found*" (Eccles. vii. 28). He does not tell us what this rare product of humanity was like. I think I can supply his omission. If this "one man" really kept his head above the tide of wickedness in the age of Ecclesiastes, it was not as a product of humanity that he did so, but as a penitent and forgiven sinner. He was like the author of the 32nd psalm, who had not indeed escaped sin, but who had taken his sin direct to God for forgiveness. He too has written down his impressions, and they are more satisfactory, though less copious, than those of Ecclesiastes. Shall we study them together for a few minutes?

It is clear that some grievous trouble had befallen the psalmist. Whether it was a purely personal trouble, or whether it was one which he shared with his fellow countrymen, I know not; at any rate, it was one which *he* felt acutely. Now we know that there are two different effects produced by trouble. Either it makes us trust God all the more, according to that fine saying, "*Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.*"<sup>1</sup> This effect however

<sup>1</sup> Job xiii. 15. An "inspired mistranslation," as I have ventured to call it. See *Variorum Bible* on the passage.

it can only produce if the set of the will and the affections is towards God and the moral law. Or it reveals to us the dreadful fact that we do not love God, and so becomes to us the punishment of our rebellion. The psalmist's trouble at first produced this latter result. He tells us that he could do nothing but cry out all day long, "Oh, how cruel God is!" He thought: "'Great plagues may be proper for the ungodly,' but I am not one of that class. I have been constantly to Jehovah's temple; I have punctually brought my sacrifices; I have given tithes of my corn, my wine, and my oil; and this is all the return that I get!" He did *not* say this; for he may have remembered that verse of Job,—

*"Why dost thou strive against him?"*

*For he giveth not account of any of his matters*" (Job xxxiii. 13).

You see, he could not frame his lips to prayer; but at least he would not blaspheme. He had no true love of God, but he felt at times that after all he might be misapprehending his Maker. And so perhaps this unspoken prayer went up—you will find it in the same book of Job—*"Show me wherefore thou contendest with me"* (Job x. 2). And immediately the prayer was answered. Was it by the help of a prophet that the sufferer found out his unrepented sin? or was it the imperious voice of conscience which at last made itself heard? The former is the old but uncritical view adopted by Robert Burns in that truly sacred poem, *The Cottar's Saturday Night*,—

*"Or how the royal bard did groaning lie  
Beneath the stroke o' Heaven's avenging ire."*

I prefer the latter, because it is the most natural, and suits the words of the psalm best. Surely there is nothing kept back; the psalmist tells us the whole history of his repentance:

*"I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity I covered not ;*

*I said, I will confess my transgressions unto Jehovah,  
And so thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin."*

Now let us try to understand the psalmist. How did he know that God had forgiven his sin? He says nothing about sacrifices. I suspect that he felt at this moment as all men who are deeply concerned about their souls must feel, that no ritual performance as such could have any real effect upon God ; that he must throw himself absolutely upon God's mercy, trusting simply and solely in His pardoning love. But even then, how could he know that God had pardoned him? Perhaps he felt it, you may say ; but how could he trust his feelings? I am certain that no ancient Israelite would have trusted his feelings. "*The Jews require a sign,*" says St. Paul (1 Cor. i. 22); and this expresses a characteristic quality of the Jewish nation. The Apostle Thomas was a typical Israelite. The sceptical spirit, which had been modified in the other apostles, seems to have existed in him in all its original force. The psalmist must have required a sign that his transgression was really forgiven, and his sin covered. Well, there can hardly be a doubt as to what that sign was. It was the removal of that outward misfortune which had first led him to think that he had sinned. There is nothing more pathetic than the limited views which many of the best of the Israelites entertained even down to our Lord's time. They could not conceive of trouble as intended to deepen and purify their love to God ; and so, when trouble came, they at once leaped to the conclusion that God was angry with them. I call it pathetic, because being such earnest, devout men, it seems as though they ought to have been taught better. But who was there to teach them? One can blame the Roman missionary in the Northumbrian kingdom for letting the noble Edwin



form such an imperfect conception of the Gospel as this—that it would necessarily lead those who embraced it to earthly prosperity: a mistake fatally avenged on the field of Hatfield Chace. But whom are we to blame for the mistakes of the psalmists and prophets? How many were there competent to teach them better?

So then the sign which this pious Israelite, and those who suffered like him, desired was the restoration of earthly prosperity; and a merciful God granted it. There *are* such things as answers to prayer, whatever sceptical men of science may think; and though prayers for spiritual are safer than those for temporal blessings, yet even these latter are for wise and gracious reasons very often heard. It was so in the case of the penitent sinner who wrote this psalm. God dealt tenderly with His servant, and would not shake his new-born faith by leaving him in his distress.

But will any of *us* try to bargain with God, and offer to believe in the forgiveness of our sins, if God will also take away all the impediments to our earthly happiness? Surely not. That were to doubt God's love, and to set up our wisdom against His; that were to compare two classes of good things which are by their nature wholly incommensurable. The sign of a spiritual blessing must itself be spiritual. Need I say what the true sign is? Listen to St. Paul. "*There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death*" (Rom. viii. 1, 2, R.V.). That is, if you have been forgiven through Christ Jesus, you have also received the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, and walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. There is no arbitrary connexion in this case between the sign and that of which it is the evidence. Because Christ died, not merely to obtain our forgiveness, and restore us to infant

innocence, but to mould us into His own likeness, qualify us to be fellow workers with Himself in God's kingdom. Neither is any mistake about this sign possible. A young Christian may stumble very often, but no one who observes him closely can mistake the direction in which he is walking. In private, he will be seen to court solitude, to read his Bible, and to pray; in public, to avoid those sins to which, before he made his baptismal vows a reality, he was specially prone, and to cultivate those Christian graces the most which are least congenial to his temperament. There will be a growing earnestness in his manner, a growing conscientiousness in his work, and a growing spirituality in his use of forms, especially of the most sacred and best beloved of all forms, which will mark him off at once from those who have missed the happiness of coming to Jesus for what He alone can give.

But note the beautiful inconsistency of the psalmist. He believes that even in this life the good are always rewarded, and the bad punished. "*Great plagues,*" he says, "*remain for the ungodly, but whoso trusteth in Jehovah, lovingkindness embraceth him on every side.*" But he also quotes one of the loveliest promises in the Old Testament—I say, he quotes it, because beyond doubt it was in a special sense a revelation to him.

*"I will instruct thee, and teach thee in the way thou art to go ;*

*I will give thee counsel, (keeping) mine eye upon thee."*

So that, you see, the psalmist was not merely anxious for temporal deliverance; he longed for trustworthy moral guidance, and the sense of God's constant protection. Perhaps indeed one may say that though, in deference to the orthodoxy of his time, he gives the chief prominence to an earthly sign of forgiveness, yet in reality, in his heart of hearts, he longs most for the spiritual sign of intimate communion with God.

Last of all, observe the psalmist's grateful comment in verse 6 :

*"For this let every one that is godly pray unto thee in time of distress,*

*When the flood of the great waters is heard ;*

*Unto such an one they shall not reach."*<sup>1</sup>

What does *this* mean? Well, the psalmists delight in picture-speech, and "great waters" are the symbol of a great trouble.

"Save me, O God, for the waters are come in even unto the life."

And again, "All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me."

Now does the writer mean that in really great personal sorrows the only true comfort is in prayer? I do not think he meant only this. If you look at the passages in which this figurative language is used, you will find that the troubles chiefly referred to as "deep waters" are, not personal and domestic ones, but those great calamities in which all the members of a nation participate. Doubtless the psalmists *had* personal joys and sorrows—they laughed at weddings, and they wept at funerals; but they did not make these the theme of song. How widely different in this respect are Christian hymns! Do I blame their writers? Not at all; the psalmists had such an absorbing interest in God's kingdom that it perhaps stunted other elements in their character not less worthy of being cultivated. I think that a nature like William Cowper's was richer, though far feebler, than that of any of the psalmists; and if poor Cowper's faith now and then gave way, it was due to nothing else but grave physical disease. I scarcely know two more touching verses, considering who

<sup>1</sup> I did not feel able to expound this passage without adopting a correction of the Hebrew text (see notes in my commentary on the book of Psalms).

wrote them, than these (the 2nd verse is unfortunately omitted in our hymn-books),—

“God of my life, to Thee I call;  
Afflicted at Thy feet I fall;  
When the great waterfloods prevail,  
Leave not my trembling heart to fail.

Amidst the roaring of the sea  
My soul still hangs its hopes on Thee;  
Thy constant love, Thy faithful care,  
Alone can save me from despair.”

Still there is a bracing quality in the old Israelitish Psalms, which contrasts happily with the softer, subjective element so conspicuous in Christian hymn-books; and this arises from the constant reference of the psalms to the temporal and spiritual prospects of the Jewish Church and nation. If then we desire to taste the full sweetness of the psalms, we must first of all learn what the writers meant, and then apply this not merely to our own personal circumstances (which the words will not always fit), but to those of the universal Church and the English nation. The dangers we think of will be sometimes material, sometimes purely spiritual; for it may be said of bodies of men as well as of individuals, that their wrestling is not against flesh and blood. Is it not so? Do not the forces of evil sometimes almost seem to have a personal life, and to be fighting passionately against us? Then it is that the heart finds its way to its chosen psalms, “as the warrior’s hand to the hilt of his sword.” Luther was right in calling this and the companion-psalms the best. For him they were the best. And the missionaries of our own Church are right in going to the psalms for comfort in the moral wastes of Central Africa. “But for the psalms of David and of Asaph,” said one of them in Uganda last year, “I could not bear to see this all-but-omnipotent reign of evil!” But we need not go to



Central Africa; evil is all too potent in our very midst. Let us fight against the evil in ourselves, and we shall have need enough of the psalms of David and of Asaph. We shall find out our own special psalms, as Luther found out his. Only there is one verse which we shall *never* have occasion to use, "*Save me, O God, for the waters are come in even to the life.*" For our "life is hid with Christ in God."

T. K. CHEYNE.

## THE PARABLE OF THE LOST SON

(A HOMILETIC STUDY).

### II.

#### THE PENITENT'S RETURN AND RECEPTION.

WE find the account of the recovery, like that of the fall, of the prodigal marked by clear and striking gradation. The steps are these: first *Reflection*, "when he came to himself, he said"; then *Resolution*, "I will arise"; then *Return*, "He arose and came"; afterward follows the father's *Reception* of him—the son's *Confession*; to crown all, his *Restoration* and the *Rejoicing*.

1. REFLECTION. "*And when he came to himself.*" For plainly, he had been beside himself,—not only an exile from home and alien from his father, but madly doing violence to his own nature. So is our state of sin, madness and folly; not such as to unfit us for the common business of life, not such as to free us from responsibility, yet such that we are out of our true and proper mind as to our highest and truest interest. The first step towards salvation is when we come to ourselves, and Reflection is the first mark of this return.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Trench notes that *Resipiscentia* or "becoming wise again," is one of the

The prodigal's reflection ran thus, "*How many hired . . . hunger,*" as much as to say, "to be connected in any way with my father, even in the most menial capacity, is better than to be as I am." This proved returning sanity. Once he had thought, in his madness, that anything was better than to be connected with his father; and he had given himself no rest until he had got as far from him as possible. How differently he sees it now! Such is the beginning of a sound mind in religion; when the thought possesses us, "It were better for me to be near God, to know God on any terms, than to be as I am." It is a new day to a man's soul, when after immersion in the world, long forgetfulness of God, or wilful injury to conscience, and attempts to blind himself to Divine light, he begins to say within himself, "Peace with God, hired service for God, even stripes and chastening which I could see came from God's hand, would be better for me than to live thus in a far country where He is not."

The source of this reflection is not high. Not at any earlier stage is it recorded of the prodigal that he came to himself; but now when he had arrived at the bottom of his misery, and no man gave unto him, his heart broke. He sat down on the cold ground—that throne of the desolate—and cried, "How many hired servants of my father's," etc. "Lo! all these things worketh God oftentimes with man, to bring back his soul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living."<sup>1</sup> He lets him go down stage after stage in his misery, that what the foolish heart will not admit when corn and wine abound, what the proud spirit will not confess at the first stroke

names of Christian repentance. It may be worth recalling that Lactantius among the Fathers, and Beza among the Reformers, sought in vain to get this term into current use, as an equivalent for *μετάνοια*, instead of the misleading *Penitentialia*.

<sup>1</sup> Job xxxiii. 29, 30.

of punishment, it may learn after many stripes,—that it were better to return to God on any terms than thus to perish with hunger. Thus is learned that secret of the restored and pardoned ones, so dark to others, the blessedness of those things which seem the bane of life—pain, poverty, sorrow, disappointment. How wonderful the alchemy by which God's grace brings man's best out of life's worst. Troubles that are the just consequences of sin, He turns into occasions of repentance and means of recovery. "I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and make a wall that she shall not find her paths, . . . then shall she say, I will go and return to my first husband, for then was it better with me than now."<sup>1</sup>

2. RESOLUTION. The course of thought in the mind of the youth is very natural and evident. Hunger made him think of the plenty at home, even in the servants' hall; that suggested his father's heart, the love for him there still, the good case of servants even, in that house, much more of sons. So his fancy travels back from present wretchedness to past happy days. With that remembrance comes hope, and with hope, resolve: "I will arise and go to my father." Such is the dawn of repentance in the human soul. Misery makes us think of help—help in God, when man fails us. The character of God apprehended creates hope of pardon and desire to ask it. These together stir resolution to turn to Him. Mere misery, mere natural broken-heartedness by reason of affliction works no penitence. The sorrow of the world worketh death. But the remembrance that God is love, the belief that with Him there is mercy, this added to the sense of misery and conviction of the sin which has deserved it, breaks the heart with genuine contrition, stirs the soul with filial desire, animates the man with the resolve of repentance.

*"I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him."*

<sup>1</sup> Hos. ii. 6, 7.

It is resolution, prompt and pointed. It is no vague, shiftless, hesitating, blind longing. All the steps are before his mind, he sees his way home, he has prepared the very words (comp. Hosea xiv. 2). "*Father!*" He feels that the relationship is not broken. Obedience did not constitute it. Disobedience, even apostasy does not dissolve it. In spite of all provocations inflicted, that father remains, in the lost son's apprehension, a father still to be so addressed and trusted. Now this is a foremost element in true penitence ("Return, O Israel, unto the Lord, thy God," "I will go to my father"); to believe that however shamefully we have treated God, He abideth faithful; that though we have broken with our side of the relationship, and renounced our covenant place, He remains in His, unchanged and unchangeable.

"*I have sinned against heaven and before thee.*" There is a delicate rhetorical propriety in the words put into the mouth of the youth, so as not to mix up the figure and the fact. It is our sinning "against God" that is figured, so that phrase is not used in the parable. Yet the *μετάνοια* of the prodigal is shown to be pure by his express reference to his offence against a higher than his earthly parent. He discerns sin in its root and essence as the transgression of the Divine will (so Olshausen, *in loc.*). Thus is brought out the very heart of true confession. The mere words "I have sinned" may be uttered in many characters. Hard-hearted Pharaoh said "I have sinned," when the judgment of God was upon him, but the moment it was removed, hardened his heart again. Double-minded Balaam said it, yet with the word in his mouth still desired to go after the wages of unrighteousness. Fickle Saul said it when the prophet reproved him, but it made no change in his life. Convicted Achan said it when there was no door of hope left for him, in that valley of Achor where they stoned him. Despairing Judas said it, and went



and hanged himself. But to say it thus to God in heaven with a sense that against Him, Him only have we sinned, with trust in His mercy, and confidence in His pardon, this is genuine confession from a truly contrite heart.

*"And am no more worthy . . . hired servants."* This in the mouth of the resolving penitent is true humility. What else could the youth resolve to say if he felt as he ought. He remembered the place he had once. He sees how justly he has forfeited that place. He tells himself how thankful he ought to feel now for the humblest place in his father's house, if only he may be received into it at all. So he revolves in his mind such words as these. The like feeling in us when we first truly repent is surely what our Lord meant to picture, the humility of the broken heart, not the lingering pride of the self-righteous spirit. "My inmost desire is that God would take me back anyhow. If He would but let me creep inside the door of His house, let me have the crumbs from His table, let me be the humblest menial in His service, let me only be near Him, and be His on any terms." Such language expresses the true home-sickness of the penitent heart, the exact converse of that evil heart of unbelief whose choice was to depart into any country that was far enough from God. Now it is "let me in any wise be at home with Thee."

3. RETURN and RECEPTION of the Penitent. The actual return of this prodigal is the happiest example of "said and done." He waits not, wavers not, does not procrastinate. He does not, like so many, turn the thing over in the mind and think only of the difficulties—"resolve and re-resolve and die the same." "He arose and came to his father." "To whom shall we go but unto Thee?" When we find out that we are "strangers in the world," let us straightway become pilgrims unto God. But our attention here is called to the other side of the picture—the Penitent's Reception.

*“When he was yet a great way off . . . and kissed him.”* Mark this as the central scene of the drama. Think of the youth as he trudges on mile after mile over that dreary land. So easy as it had been to traverse on his light-hearted going away; so hard and sad now when he is retracing his steps. Think of the contending emotions within his breast; now desire and now shrinking, now hope and now fear. When he has surmounted the last hill-top, and yonder away in the distance stands the home of his birth, think how his heart would beat and his eyes grow dim with tears. As he begins to move from that spot towards the now visible end of his hopes his fears suddenly revive, he feels it impossible he should be taken back into favour, he must have been mad, he thinks, to dream of it, when, lo! yon advancing figure! What! it is his father himself, and in a few moments more he is locked in arms of paternal love.

Here we reach the very gist of the story. The heart of God overflows in these sayings of Jesus. Every word vibrates with emotion at once the tenderest and the holiest. God desires the return of us sinners and wretched, far more than even we desire in our most earnest moments to return to Him. God discerns the faintest sigh after good which breaks forth in a wanderer's heart, and from the moment this heart takes a step towards Him, He takes ten to meet it. Nay, He draws sinners ere ever they run as penitents towards Him. What this father was to his prodigal son, says Jesus, that and infinitely more is thy God, O penitent, to thee. When he was yet “a great way off” his father saw him. When you were still in darkness as to the way of life, when you had but slight views of sin and imperfect views of Divine grace, when you had many doubts as to your reception, when, left to yourself, you would have faltered and failed and never got to your Father's house at all, His eye of grace and compassion was

upon you. When you were advancing slowly and uncertainly as one burdened without and within, He ran to meet you. When you held back in mingled shame and fear, He fell on your neck and kissed you. In the words of our favourite household commentator, "Here were eyes of mercy, and these quick-sighted to see a great way off. Here were bowels of mercy, yearning at the sight of his son. Here were feet of mercy, and those quick-paced to run. Here were arms of mercy stretched out to embrace him, undeserving and filthy though he was. Here were lips of mercy dropping as an honeycomb." Kisses of mercy, words of mercy, deeds of mercy, wonders of mercy—all mercy. What a God of mercy and grace He is!

4. The Penitent's CONFESSION. "*And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned . . . no more worthy to be called thy son.*" In the words of M. Henry again, "As it commends the good father's kindness that he showed it before the prodigal expressed his regret and repentance, so it commends the penitent's confession that he expressed it after his father had showed him so much kindness." The reception was all that he could desire, and much more than he had dared to hope for. It was a royal forgiveness. The pardon was bestowed ere he got time to ask it. His sin was never mentioned to him. But this did not abate his real grief for having so mistrusted such a father. It rather opened heart and lips in a readier and deeper confession. And this which is so true to nature, has its counterpart in grace. God forgives His returning child with a royal, a Divine forgiveness. "I, even I, am He that blotteth out thy transgressions for My own sake, and will not remember thy sins."<sup>1</sup> Yet such exceeding grace it is which breaks the heart into the truest contrition and confession. "Then shall ye remember your own evil ways and your doings that were not good;

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xliii. 25.

and shall loathe yourselves in your own sight for your iniquities and for your abominations.”<sup>1</sup> The deepest penitence is that which follows, not that which precedes the sense of being forgiven. The kiss of reconciliation unseals the lips of the penitent soul. The sight of the cross opens the fountain of its tears. The taste of God’s love in pardoning awakens the most genuine grief at our own sin which so long insulted such love. The strongest assurance of God’s favour is meant to call out the sincerest self-blame. “I will establish My covenant with thee; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord: that thou mayest remember and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more, because of thy shame, when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord God.”<sup>2</sup>

It is one of the subtle strokes of our Lord’s Divine genius, that in telling the story he makes the prodigal omit the last part of his pre-arranged petition, “make me as one of thy hired servants.” There is not a word of that now. Was it that the father’s prompt and repeated kisses stopped his mouth and cut off the unhappy ending. Or, was it rather, that the reception he met with had purified his heart of the one troubled element, of doubt as to how the father would receive him, made him feel that to express it now would be an insult to that father’s love, and taught him that the true humility was not to ask a servant’s place, but at the hand of such a father to accept the place of a forgiven child?

This last illustrates best the evangelical lesson. When the heavenly Father’s kiss fills the heart of the repentant sinner with a sweet assurance of forgiveness, it resolves all doubt, melts down all pride, dispels all misgiving and misconception, and makes him ready to accept the place and honour of that sonship which he was utterly unworthy to receive, but which it is so like the Father to bestow. To

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxxvi. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xvi. 62, 63.



know something of the unsearchable riches of His grace, enforces the true humility, which is to go up higher when the Lord bids us. Far more really humble than to say "make me as one of thy hired servants," is it to take silently the place of a forgiven child.<sup>1</sup>

5. THE RESTORATION. The scene at this point changes. From the place where the father met the prodigal, we are now transferred to the house. "I am no more worthy," was the word with which the penitent son wound up his confession. That word is now taken up by the father. He said to his servants, "*Bring forth*," etc. So far as the son is concerned the father will answer him by deeds. He will show by more than words that as a son he is received. So far as the household is concerned words shall not be wanting, nor signs either, to proclaim the sonship of this restored child. "*Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him.*" This "change of raiment" (comp. Zech. iii. 4) is called *στολὴν τὴν πρώτην*, either as "the former robe" such as he had worn before he went astray, or as "the foremost robe," the best robe (as A.V. has it), that well-known garb of honour in which it is fitting such a guest should be arrayed.<sup>2</sup> "*And put a ring on his hand.*" Let him not want the signs of dignity and honour (comp. Gen. xli.). "*And shoes on his feet.*" Ragged and barefoot had he come, but not such must he enter the house and sit down at the table. Shoes, too, were the sign of the free man. Slaves went barefoot,

<sup>1</sup> Godet makes a "wide difference" between the words of ver. 19 and those of ver. 21. This is now the cry of repentant love, that was the cry of despair. The "terms are the same, *I have sinned*, but how different the accent! Luther felt it profoundly; the discovery of the difference between the repentance of fear and that of love was the true principle of the Reformation." Though in itself a vigorous remark, this can hardly be built upon the omission of the clause. A growth in evangelical repentance may be meant, but not the contrast with an unevangelical fear.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the article is best justified by this latter rendering; as again in vv. 23, 27 τὸν μίσχον τὸν σκευτεῖν = that one prepared and reserved for special occasions. *Stola prima est dignitas quam perdidit Adam!* A flagrant instance of patristic exegesis.

but the son must be shod. Indeed the idea—full evidence of citizenship and sonship—is the real force of all these particulars. In carrying out the interpretation it has been usual to make the robe, ring, and shoes signify respectively the three chief “benefits of redemption.” The justifying righteousness, the sealing spirit of adoption, and the new walk of sanctification. Wittily and temptingly complete as is this interpretation, it cannot be exegetically sustained. For in the parable all the three particulars refer to the declaration of the restored prodigal’s position. He is to be neither a slave nor a hired servant, but an honoured son. We should beware, therefore, not to bury under such evangelical details our Lord’s exact purpose here, which, as the whole story and its setting witness, is to show that God seeks sinners as His own; that when He finds them He takes care to let all know that these restored sinners are as much His children as the highest angel; that the worst prodigal among them is as truly a son as the most honoured of His saints; that the distinctions and degrees which met would introduce into His kingdom are blotted out in the freeness of His forgiving grace; that whereas men when they forgive are apt not to forget, the mercy of God as far exceeds man’s as the heavens are above the earth.

“Man’s forgiveness may be true and sweet,  
And yet he stoops to give it; more complete  
Is love which lays forgiveness at thy feet,  
And pleads with thee to raise it. Only heaven  
Means crowned, not vanquished, when it says ‘forgiven.’”

6. The REJOICING. “*Bring hither the fatted calf . . . was lost and is found.*” The return of the prodigal was a great event in that house, greatest to the heart of the father. He saw farthest into its meaning. He knew that he had received in this son another man altogether from him that went away and tarried in the far land. His is the deep joy of receiving a son indeed, once dead, now alive; once

lost to him and to heaven, now found alike by both. Such joy in a human heart must run over. It must impart itself. So he summons all his house to rejoice with him, and that no one may be unable to enter into the gladness, he makes provision for its being a feast-day for them all.

Here again the details take care of themselves. And so also does the interpretation. "*The fatted calf.*" Jesus knows country customs. On every farm homestead there is always "the calf" which is fattening for feast days. What does it represent spiritually? "All that is most excellent and sweet in the communications of Divine grace."<sup>1</sup> It means the rich provision of joy and peace in believing which God provides for the returning sinner; as also, that added joy to those who heartily sympathise, which His Church has often found to accompany times of the awakening and conversion of sinners.

Note how this brings us to the point and application of the story as a parable of the kingdom. Our Lord plainly means by this crowning parable of the three in this chapter, to clench the lesson which runs through them all. Man's redemption is a momentous event in the annals of God. He alone perfectly understands it and most of all rejoices over it, for to Him our nature belongs and He knows what it is worth. Other beings however, including men themselves, are called to rejoice along with God in this. The mark of their nearness to God in spirit will be the degree in which they are taken up about human salvation, are concerned for it, and delight in its accomplishment. For what is it, when, say, a single human being repents and is forgiven? What does it mean to the Highest of all Beings?

<sup>1</sup> Godet *in loc.* If it were needful to set aside with reasons the patristic conceit which made the fatted calf mean the Atoning Sacrifice, this commentator's answer would be sufficient. "The absence of every feature fitted to represent the sacrifice of Christ is at once explained, when we remember that we have here to do with a parable, and that expiation has no place in the relations between man and man."

It means the recovery not only of something dead and out of use like a missing coin, of something lost like a wandered sheep, but the restoration, says the Divine Father, of My child, made after Mine own image. "This my son was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found."

J. LAIDLAW.

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### BREVIA.

THREE books have lain too long on a side-shelf in my study waiting to be noticed. To any who have been expecting a word of guidance respecting them, regretful excuses are due. I had hardly thought it possible for me to write again about Ewald, especially in THE EXPOSITOR. But I will at least invite the student of theology, whatever be the colour of his "views," to acquaint himself with the skilful adaptation of portions of Ewald's last great work (*Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*), which Mr. Goadby has issued under the title given below.<sup>1</sup> All honour to the president of a Baptist college for the good work which he has done! There is no German writer on the Old Testament so fitted in many respects to supply the wants of an English theological student as Ewald. I do not think that Ewald, either in the work from which this book is taken, or in his grand *History of the People of Israel*, shows a sufficiently keen historical sense; he has not such an eye for "development" as many far less gifted later German writers possess. But for all that, or perhaps because of that, the essential ideas which are more or less common to all the great Biblical writers are brought out with a force and a completeness here which will be sought for in vain elsewhere. Great as were the faults of Ewald, his standard and his spirit are such as each religious and yet thoughtful Biblical student will desire as his own. This volume is a companion to a similar one, also drawn from Ewald's last work, called *Revelation: its Nature and Record*.

To the same publishers we owe the translation of P. Cassel's

<sup>1</sup> *Old and New Testament Theology*. By Heinrich Ewald. Translated by Rev. Thomas Goadby, B.A. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)



singular commentary on the Book of Esther.<sup>1</sup> The learning of this meritorious Berlin pastor is beyond question, but why such a farrago should have been translated passes comprehension. Nor is it even complete, as it contains no reference to Professor Sayce's *Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*, which on antiquarian points deserved to be consulted. Dieulafoy's still more important defence of the Book of Esther, not as literally true, but as true to the manners and to the architecture of ancient Persia, could not, I admit, have been known to the author. Students of the Apocalypse will be glad to hear that the number 666 is definitively settled to mean Haman the wicked (Dr. Cassel seems to me however to omit a *Yöd* in his calculation).

Of Vol. VIII. of Dr. Parker's *People's Bible*,<sup>2</sup> I can say no more and no less than has been said already. The present volume specially interests me, because it opens with a subject (Elijah) which I have but just laid aside. Dr. Parker has imagination and fervent piety, but no criticism. I cannot see why these three qualities should not be united. But I join with former reviewers in admiring, not to say loving, all the best parts of Dr. Parker's expositions. There is a "prayer" on p. 46, which seems to me more in the spirit of the Psalms than almost anything which I have read lately in religious poetry.

T. K. CHEYNE.

<sup>1</sup> *An Explanatory Commentary on Esther*. With four Appendices. By Prof. Paulus Cassel. Translated by Rev. Aaron Bernstein, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

<sup>2</sup> *The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture*. By Joseph Parker, D.D. Vol. VIII., 1 Kings xv.-1 Chron. ix. (London: Hazell, Watson & Viney.)

## *EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN PHRYGIA :*

### *A STUDY IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.*

#### II.

THE scope of this study is confined to the external aspect of the early Christian Church in Phrygia, and its method is purely archæological. I discuss the monuments which remain still in the country, and attempt to determine from them, and from them alone, the state of the Phrygian Church before the time of Constantine. I assume nothing from the analogy of better known phases of Church history, and I do not attempt to combine in one picture the isolated features which appear in the various documents. It may however be not without value to discuss the subject from unintended and therefore unprejudiced evidence, and to show how many features of Church discipline and custom can be traced in the unpretending documents which alone are accessible to us. The public demeanour of the Christians, their relation to their neighbours and to the Government, their organization, the appearance they presented to their neighbours—such are the points on which I hope to throw some light. To treat the subject fully, and to describe what their ancient literature, history, and law tell us of the relations between the Christians, on the one hand, and the Government or their neighbours, on the other hand, is of course too vast a subject. My aim is more humble: to examine certain monuments of Phrygia, and to show that the very evidence which proves them to be Christian throws light on the relations which existed between the Christian and non-Christian sections of the

community. Yet if we would recognise the influence of the new religion on contemporary society, it is necessary to put in a few words on the character of its opposition to the imperial institutions. The Roman empire united in one great country a vast complex of countries, differing in race, language, religion, and habits. It bound them together by many ties of firm, orderly government, and finally of equal citizenship; and it guaranteed this union by a common religion, *viz.* the worship of the majesty of Rome as embodied in the emperor. The older religions had never sought converts. The worshippers of the gods of Greece, Rome, and the ancient world generally rather wished to exclude their neighbours, and to retain for a small circle of devotees the benefits which were given by the god to his own people. The worship of Rome and the emperor did not stand on the same platform with these older religions; it stood above them, and embraced the whole civilized world. It claimed like Christianity to be the religion of mankind, or at least of civilized man. Thus the two religions were opposed to each other: the one claimed to be the supreme religion, the other claimed to be the sole religion. During the first three centuries of our era, a regular hierarchy was gradually consolidated by the organizing genius of Rome. The "supreme religion" was maintained by a high priest in each province; and this high priest finally came to exercise many rights over the priests of all other religions practised in the province, as well as over the subordinate ministers of the "supreme religion." Something like a universal Church was thus established—a universal religion enforced and maintained by the State. One of the most remarkable sides of the history of Rome is the growth of ideas which finally found their full realization and completion in the Christian empire. Universal citizenship, universal equality, universal religion, a universal Church, all were ideas which the empire was slowly work-

ing out, but which it could not fully realize till it merged itself in Christianity.

This partial identity of aim, which these two religions, and no others, by diverse means sought to attain, pitted them against each other as competitors in a struggle which could end only in the destruction of one of them. Even the strange similarity in the circumstances and time of their origin only intensified the hostility. The poets of the early empire record and express the feeling in Rome (30-20 B.C.) that only a god appearing in human form on the earth could put an end to war, introduce a new period in the world's history, restore morality and religion, and save the Roman State. The moral strength of the empire lay in this idea, that the god (Apollo or Mercury the poets call him) had appeared as a man to found a new empire, and inaugurate a reign of peace, order, and religion in the world.

When the end came, the victorious religion completed the forms of that universal Church which its defeated competitor had tried to establish. The Pontifices Maximi continued in an unbroken series. The forms of Church government, sketched out by the organizing genius of Rome, were completed by the Christian Church. One of the most striking scenes in early English history, as told by Green, is the struggle between this organized Roman Church and the loose tribal Celtic Church.

In the long struggle of these two religions there are various phases, and periods of bitter conflict alternate with comparative peace. The Christians were at first confused with the Jews, and treated according as the Jews were treated. Then came a long period during which the Jews were tolerated, or even favoured, but the Christians were proscribed, and either openly persecuted or treated with bare toleration so long as they made no open profession. Their close union, which was indeed prescribed by



their religion, was also necessary for mutual defence and help. To the Christians themselves the corporation of Christians in each city was the Church of the city, but to the outer world the corporation presented a different appearance and assumed a different name. The distinction of external appearance and internal reality was forced on the early Christians by the necessity of self-preservation. According to ancient law, any body of persons might be recognised by the law as having legal standing and rights, if it was organized for some purpose which the law permitted. There is some evidence to show that communities of Christians sometimes obtained legal recognition under the form of burial societies. This legal footing, limited and uncertain as it was, was a great step in advance, and constituted a guarantee of rights for the individual members. Each single Christian had then the strength of the entire Society to which he belonged; and a Society whose members are closely united and harmonious in their efforts soon acquires great power. There is much probability that the Christians, who, as has been already stated, were so influential in Phrygia, were organized in some such way.

One of the chief points of interest in investigating the remains of Phrygian Christianity is to discover any evidence of the footing on which Christians gained recognition or toleration by the State. The emperors were especially strict in prohibiting the formation of any society which might assume a political character or exercise any political influence; and in provinces which were governed directly by the emperor, the recognition of a society of Christians cannot be expected down to a very late period. But Phrygia was part of the province of Asia, which was under the rule of the senate, not of the emperor; and the evidence shows that this province was governed far more laxly, and was permitted a far higher degree of municipal freedom, than any of the imperial provinces. There is

abundant evidence that societies in the form of trade-guilds, united of course in the worship of a god, as all ancient societies were invariably united, were permitted in this province; and therefore a society of Christians, recognised by the law at a comparatively early time, is not out of keeping with other facts.

So far as the documents described in the former paper are concerned, they tend to establish the probability that the Christians in the district where they are found were not united in any such society. The profession of religion is quite openly made, and persons who openly call themselves "Christians" in public documents do not need to organize themselves in a society bearing a different name, and ostensibly seeking a non-religious object. The whole character of these documents tends to show, just as all other considerations do, that the valley of the Tembrogius was an aggregate of small villages and farms, where there was little community of life, little social organization, and great individual liberty. As to the great cities of northern Phrygia, there is, as was stated above, no documentary evidence about the state of the Christians in them. But in central and southern Phrygia, to which I now pass, the case is different. Here the documents are numerous. They belong to rich and highly civilized cities, and some of them point to an organization under some form or other of the Christian community.

I shall therefore quote in this place some of the documents which point most clearly to the existence of an organization in a form which veiled the religious character of the Christian community under some social character, and which therefore must have been a publicly known form adopted as a protection, openly professed by the Christians, and recognised by the city in which they lived. History shows other cases in which persecuted religions have maintained and protected themselves under some such

guise, and thus establishes the antecedent probability of such a method being followed by the Phrygian Christians.

13. An epitaph from Acmonia, as yet unpublished, finds an appropriate place in this connexion: it is engraved on three sides of a tombstone which has the form of an altar. Tombstones of this shape are exceedingly common in Phrygia, and it is the form which almost all Christian monuments take.

- A "Aurelius Aristetas, son of Apollonius, bought an empty piece of ground from Marcus Mathus,  
 B promising to the Neighbourhood of the First-Gate-People [certain moneys] on condition that every year they cause to bloom with roses (the grave of) my wife Aurelia,  
 C [And if they neglect] to make the roses bloom every year, they shall have to reckon with the justice of God."

On the lower part of side A another inscription was added in letters of different shape and smaller size at a later time by the children of Aristetas.

"His children Alexander and Callistratus constructed (the grave) to their mother and father in remembrance."

On side B a crown, now defaced so that its exact form is unrecognisable, was carved in relief; and on side C some symbols, also defaced, were sculptured. These symbols might perhaps have proved the religion of the deceased, but in the actual state of the stone it is marked as Christian only by the concluding phrase, "he shall have to reckon with the justice of God." I have elsewhere proved<sup>1</sup> that this phrase is a mark of the Christian religion. The proof lies in the facts, (1) that many inscriptions which end with that phrase are marked as Christian by peculiarities of language, or by names or symbols in the body of the inscription; (2) that none which contain that phrase have anything to stamp them as pagan; (3) that variations of the same fundamental phrase occur which are obviously

<sup>1</sup> "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," Part I. § xiv.

Christian, *e.g.* "he shall have to reckon with Christ," or "with the living God." Such a proof results from the examination of the actual documents, and I state here in a few words the general facts which every reader can verify by reading over the documents. The dated examples of this class of epitaphs belong to the years 249, 250, 256, 260, 261, 262, A.D.,<sup>1</sup> which gives approximately the period of the inscription which we are discussing. Criteria of style would also be sufficient to prove that it cannot be very late, while the *prænomen* Aurelius marks it as not earlier than 210-20 A.D.

The formula with which this inscription ends is one of the criteria that divide the second group of Phrygian Christian documents from the class which has already been discussed. Accordingly the doubt which I previously expressed (see No. 11) as to the position of Acmonia is now resolved: Acmonia belongs to the central and southern group, not to the north-western. The inscription which determines the question has lain unnoticed among my material since 1883, and was recalled to my memory by a renewed examination of the stone in June, 1888. It records a bequest to the "Neighbourhood" or "Society of Neighbours of the First-Gate-People." The persons who lived near one of the gates of Acmonia, which was called by the name "First Gate," formed a society, to which bequests could be left by a legal document, and which therefore must have been legally recognised. To appreciate the value of the evidence it is necessary to remember that this document is not merely what we should call an epitaph. It is in the strictest sense a legal document, recording a bequest, engraved on the least perishable material, and

<sup>1</sup> The date 353 A.D. (ΤΑΣ) occurs in a seventh example, Lebas-Wadd. 735. I have seen the inscription; the letters in question are now partly mutilated, but the remains seemed to me to show that Lebas had miscopied the first symbol, and that it was T, giving the date 253 A.D.



placed before the eyes of the world, in order to secure permanence and publicity, as well as to gain the protection of the sanctity attaching to a grave. Such was the method always adopted in Greek cities to protect important documents. They were engraved on stone or bronze, and exposed prominently in some place of a sacred character. The laws of the city, the treaties which it made with its allies or its enemies, the charters that confirmed its rights, all were exposed as publicly as possible. Had paper been used as much as it is in modern times, many of the most precious historical documents that remain to us would have perished many centuries ago. The character of such epitaphs as strictly legal documents is shown by the fact that they are frequently executed in duplicate: one copy being preserved in the archives of the city, and the other placed over the grave.

Our Acmonian inscription then is the last will and testament of Aristetas. It stood over the grave of him and his wife, beside one of the roads leading out of the city, calling to the memory of every passer by the conditions of the bequest, and invoking public opinion and the justice of God to punish the neglect of the conditions. So long as the stone stood there and the roses bloomed, all could see that the "Society of Neighbours" fulfilled their duty.

Aristetas leaves a bequest to a society: this society must have been recognised by the law, for a bequest to an illegal society would be illegal. Bequests to the Church were made legal by Constantine A.D. 321: before that time the law apparently would not recognise as legal a bequest to the Church. Yet we can hardly believe that Aristetas bequeathed his property to any except Christians, and we must recognise in this "Society of the Neighbours" a Christian community associated in such a form as the law permitted. That form was a burial society. Besides the general analogy of the evidence mentioned above, the cir-

cumstances of this special case point to this conclusion: the care and maintenance of the tomb is committed to the charge of the society to which the money is bequeathed.

The idea that a Christian would leave a bequest to a pagan society may be dismissed as impossible. All ancient societies and unions met under the guarantee of religion, and their members were united in the worship of some god. A pagan burial society is inconceivable except in the form of an association to worship a deity like Proserpine or Cybele or Venus-Libitina. A Christian could not even belong to such a society, nor can he be thought to have bequeathed money to it.

That the Christians of Acmonia should live in a particular quarter, near to and probably outside of one of the gates of the city, is quite natural. Acmonia is not one of the cities where Christian influence was particularly strong, and the quarter of "First-Gate" was therefore, in all probability, a poor and unfashionable part of the city. The present situation of the stone shows that it probably once stood by the road that led out of the western gate of Acmonia. By this gate all the roads which go west and south and north must, owing to the peculiar situation of the city, necessarily issue. The quarter near it must therefore have been a bustling and noisy one, thronged with trade, and the home of a poor working class. We are reminded of the Jewish quarter in ancient Rome, outside of the busy Capuan Gate, the despised haunt of beggars.

14. A remarkable inscription of Apameia is published, Lebas-Waddington 1,703: I have never seen it, though I have visited Apameia four times.

*"Aurelius Auxanondas made the sepulchre for myself and for my brother Dosityches as a gift along with his wife: and if any other shall bury, he shall have to reckon with God. Farewell, ye excellent Neotheroi beloved of God."*

In addition to the phrase, "he shall have to reckon with

God," this epitaph is marked as Christian by the expression "beloved of God" (*φιλόθεου*). The Latin term corresponding, *deo carus*, is used by Tertullian to designate the members of the Church.

The word *Neotheroi* (*Νεόθηροι*) is unique, and its meaning is a riddle. It may be taken as the circle of friends associated in a society with the deceased, *i.e.* as the Christian community of Apameia, but its meaning and derivation can only be guessed at. Whatever be the sense, I think that it must be taken as a name assumed by the society of Apameian Christians. These two examples show what kind of novel or colourless names were given in public to the Churches in the cities of southern Phrygia during the third century. The date of this inscription is probably 250-300 A.D. The salutation on the tombstone, which is given to all the world in pagan epitaphs and on Christian tombstones earlier than about 250, is here and in some other examples restricted to the members of the Christian community. An exclusive and narrower tone, which became stereotyped in the fourth century, was beginning in the latter part of the third century. I add two other examples of the same restricted salutation.

15. "*Aurelius Asclepiades made this resting-place: Peace to all the Brotherhood: and whosoever [shall disturb the tomb, etc.].*"

16. "*Aurelius Dionysius, a presbyter, during his lifetime constructed the resting-place: Peace to all the Brothers.*"

The tone of exclusiveness is still more strongly shown in these two examples, which by the similar style of lettering and by the similar shape and size of the stones on which they are engraved, are marked as contemporaneous. Their date is determined as later than the triumph of Christianity by the open use of the term "presbyter," and yet as not far removed from the third century by the preservation of the same general style. They may safely be dated 320-50 A.D. The salutation "Peace" is character-

istic of the region where these two texts were found, *viz.* the Phrygian Pentapolis.<sup>1</sup> I add another example, which is of the greatest importance and interest, but which depends on the not quite satisfactory copy of Hamilton. Hamilton, in almost every respect a model traveller, had not sufficient scholarship to decipher accurately a difficult text, as this evidently must be. The faculty of divining the proper words and reading the text of an almost obliterated inscription or manuscript is the most difficult test that scholarship can be put to, and Hamilton, who was by taste a geologist above all things, and who took note of inscriptions merely from that love of all new truth which is natural to the unperverted scholar, is not to be blamed for failing in the more difficult cases. I have hunted four times over the town where Hamilton found the inscription; my friend Mr. Hogarth has made a separate careful search; and even the offer of a large reward has failed to rediscover the stone, which has in all probability disappeared irrevocably. It is necessary to make a number of emendations in the copy of Hamilton, and the following translation is made from this conjecturally amended text.<sup>2</sup> The writer was not well educated in the Greek language, and cannot express himself in a perfectly constructed sentence.

17. This inscription is engraved on two sides of a grave-stone.

<sup>1</sup> "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," Part I., No. 40; Part II. § xxix. ff.

<sup>2</sup> As the transcript given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, No. 9,266, is hopelessly unintelligible and inaccurate, I add the Greek text with the emendations which I think necessary:

A "Εἰρήνη τοῖς παράγουσιν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀλέξανδρος Μάρκου τοῦ Νεάνθου ἀνέστησεν εἵνεκα τῆς εἰστοργῆς καὶ τοῦ κάλλους [τὰ] γλυκύτατά μου τέκνα Θεῷ τειμητὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἕνεκα τούτου ἔστησα τὴν στήλην χάριν μνήμης Εὐγενίῃ καὶ Μαρκέλλῃ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Μακεδόνι καὶ Νόννῃ τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις τέκνοις τοῖς ὑπὸ ἕνα καιρὸν ὀνηθεῖσιν τὸ τῆς ζωῆς μέρος, ὃς ἂν δὲ προσκύβῃ ξένος τῷ τύμβῳ τούκῳ ἅψα τέκνα ἔχωσι.

B Εἰς τήνδε τὸ ἡρώων κοινὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν."

*εἰστοργῆς* for *στοργῆς* is a common error, due to the difficulty of the two initial consonants.



## A "Peace to all who pass by from God.

*Aurelius Alexander, son of Mark, and grandson of Neanthus, dedicated on account of affection and excellence my sweetest children, honoured by God in the peace of God: <sup>1</sup> on account of this I dedicated the gravestone in remembrance to Eugenia and to Marcella and to Alexander and to Macedon and to Nonna, sweetest children, who on one single occasion gained the inheritance of life. And whatsoever alien shall injure this tomb, may they have children who die young.*

## B Up to this [gravestone] the sepulchre is common to the Brethren."

The name Nonna alone would mark this inscription as Christian, but the whole tone of the language is sharply distinguished from pagan epitaphs and marked unmistakably as Christian. The interpretation is full of difficulties. Cavedoni has already suggested that it commemorates five martyrs. This seems to me highly probable. The five children at one time gained (or were profited by, were blessed with) the lot of life. We have here the same thought as in No. 11: death is the beginning of life, the grave the entrance to a new life. The thought which we find on Phrygian gravestones already was universal in the Church. The day of martyrdom was celebrated as the "birthday," by which name was meant "not the day of their natural birth, but the day wherein by suffering death they were born again to a new life." The pains of the martyr's death are the "birth-pangs" in Ignatius (about A.D. 110) and in the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (about A.D. 177).

They were honoured by God in the peace of God: the phrase recalls No. 12, which also was carved on the grave of a distinguished member of the Christian community, and which also seemed to contain possibly a reference to martyrdom. The fact of five "children" dying together is itself so remarkable, as to show that some unusual interest

<sup>1</sup> The writer got mixed up at this point, and his sentence became confused and falsely constructed,—a common phenomenon in Phrygian Greek,—but he found a way out of the difficulty by repeating the verb ἀνέστησεν, which is used in the double sense "dedicated the tomb" or "dedicated the deceased."

attaches to the grave. Finally the reverse of the stone shows either that the grave was a part taken from the common cemetery of the Brethren (understanding "Up to this stone, and no farther, the sepulchre is common"), or else that the grave was made in a piece of land, great part of which was handed over to the Brethren for common use. Di Rossi,<sup>1</sup> has already quoted this inscription as affording probable evidence of the existence of common sepulchres, and therefore of burial societies, among the Christians of Phrygia. The opportunity of being buried near the grave of the martyrs was of course coveted by all the Brethren, and formal permission of burial beside it is given to all on the reverse side of the stone.

The fact that the five are buried openly, with an inscription to their memory, does not tell against the theory that they were martyrs. The Roman officials did not war against the dead. After judicial execution, the remains of martyrs were regularly allowed to be taken away and buried by their friends. Churches were in many cases built, at a later date, over their graves, and such churches were called *martyria* or *memoriæ*. The five children then are in all probability five martyrs. The word "children" is to be taken in a figurative sense, and Alexander is to be understood as bishop of the community to which they belonged. The curse at the end is perhaps in anticipation of wanton injury being inflicted by pagans, "aliens," on the monument.

Assuming that five martyrs are commemorated, the date is probably during the persecution of Decius or of Gallienus between 249 and 260. I should not be disposed to bring down this inscription so late as the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 303. It has more the tone of the earlier period. The name Nonna gives evidence as to the character of the Phrygian Church in the first half of the third century. It is said to be an Egyptian word, signifying "old woman,"

<sup>1</sup> *Roma Sotteranea*, vol. i., p. 106.

and it was applied to those unmarried women or widows, who made profession of chastity, and who became almost a distinct order in the Church, even as early as the second century. It was also used in Asia Minor as a personal name, and several instances of this use (in addition to the mother of Basil, Gregory, and Macrina) are known during the fourth century at Laodicea the Burnt, on the borders of Lycaonia and Phrygia. I give one example.

18. "*Aurelia Augusta along with my sons Deios and Chrysanthus and Firmus and my daughter Nonna erected (the tomb) to my sweetest husband Mirus in remembrance.*"<sup>1</sup>

The use of the personal name Nonna arose from the institution of Widows or Virgins, whose presence in Laodicea the Burnt is attested by the following inscription, and whose presence in the Church of the Pentapolis may equally be inferred from the name in No. 17.

19. "*Gaius Julius Patricius to my sweetest aunt Orestina, who lived in virginity, dedicated the tomb in remembrance.*"

It probably belongs to the earlier years of the fourth century. The institution of "Virgins" might of course be inferred in Phrygia from the analogy of the Church in general, and especially of the African Church or of the Smyrnæan Church (as mentioned by Ignatius), but it is not without consequence to have independent proof of the uniformity of Church practice in different countries. The analogies quoted below, Nos. 25-28, will show that the distinctively Christian name Nonna may quite safely be placed as early as 250 A.D.

20. An inscription which has been quoted by the Bishop of Durham as an example of the influence of Christianity during the third century belongs to Hierapolis. It has been published by M. Waddington, now French ambassador in London, whose work in the antiquities of Asia

Minor is of the very highest character, in his edition of Lebas' *Inscriptions of Asia Minor*, a book in which succeeding criticism has rarely found a fault. But unfortunately in this case there occurs one of these rare faults. According to his text the inscription mentions a bequest to the "Council of Poverty of the Purple-dyers," which would seem to indicate a regular organization for the relief of the poor; and such an organization justly seemed to M. Waddington to be due to the influence of Christianity. Being struck with some of the difficulties in this inscription, I went to Hierapolis in 1887 to look for it; and was much disappointed to find that the word "Poverty" depends on a misreading of two letters.

It remains however one of the most important monuments of its kind, if, as I hope to prove, it is Christian. It is engraved partly on the side and partly on the end of a large sarcophagus on the south side of the road which leads out of the western gate of Hierapolis. I give it according to my own copy, which differs in a number of points from that published in Lebas-Wadd. No. 1,687.

A "The sarcophagus and the surrounding spot along with the underlying foundation belong to Marcus Aurelius Diodorus Coriascus, surnamed Asbolus, in which he himself shall be buried, and his wife and his children; and while I am still living I shall bury whomsoever I please, and right of burial belongs to no other, and if (any one acts) otherwise, he shall pay as penalty to the most sacred Treasury 500 denarii and to the highly esteemed Gerousia 500 denarii. So far as possible provide for thy life, beloved wayfarer, knowing that the end of the life of you all is this.

B And I bequeathed also to the Council of the Presidency of the Purple-dippers 3,000 denarii for the burning of Papoi on the wonted day from the interest thereof: and if any of them shall neglect to burn the whole, the residue shall belong to the Corporation of Thremmata. And there shall be buried also the wife [of . . .]."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This last clause is incomplete on the stone; it carries out the intention "while I am still living I shall bury whomsoever I please"; and no doubt it gave permission to bury the wife of a son. The future tense shows that the permission was given during her lifetime.



This document is in many respects similar to No. 13. It is really a will, placed in a most conspicuous position, not very far outside of the gate, and records regulations for the disposal of a property, *viz.* the grave, as well as a bequest in the first instance to the governing council of a society, and in the second instance to some other purpose. But it is full of difficulties in details, and these difficulties are not caused (as in many epitaphs) by inexperience of the language, for the writer is quite a sufficient master of Hellenistic Greek. He has chosen to veil his intention in phrases and terms which are unique and perhaps of ambiguous sense. The document reads at a cursory glance very like an ordinary epitaph-testament, and yet it is full of subtle differences.

The counsel given to the wayfarer is quite in the style of Greek epigrams; and it is varied from a well-known sentiment, which occurs in many different forms, to the same general effect, "Eat and drink, for the end is death"; but the variation makes it susceptible of a Christian sense. The terms in which the bequest is mentioned are assimilated to the customary pagan bequests for the performance of sepulchral rites annually, and yet the important word which defines the purpose is not Greek. The word *παπων*, read by M. Waddington, is confirmed by the careful and repeated examination of my friend Mr. Hogarth and myself. It cannot therefore be doubted, and yet it is not a known word. In an accurate, well-engraved, and well-expressed testament, such a word seems to have been chosen as a private term understood only by the initiated.

The expression "surnamed" is often used in Christian inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> and I know of no instance in which it is used in the same way in a non-Christian text. The word itself is good Greek, and occurs not rarely in a similar, though not exactly the same, way. Surnames were of

<sup>1</sup> Παύλου ἐπικλητὴν Δίου, *et cetera*.

course not peculiar to Christians; they were quite common among the pagan population. But it is certain that a new and mystical intention was given to the surname by Christians. One name was exoteric, the other was mystic and esoteric. Many examples of this occur in literature. Saint Gregory of Nyssa says about his sister that Macrina was the public name given to her among her acquaintances; but a private and secret name,<sup>1</sup> Thekla, also belonged to her, which was given her on account of a dream of her mother before her birth. In the life of the Lycaonian martyr Sozon, surnamed Tarasius (Sept. 7th), the saint replies to the question of the Roman governor, "If you ask the public name which was given me by my parents, I am called Tarasios; but if you ask my true name, I was called as a Christian Sozon in the holy baptism." This explanation can of course be accepted only as the interpretation placed upon the double name, "Tarasios surnamed Sozon," by the composer of the biography some centuries later; but it may be taken as a recollection which survived of a distinction between the exoteric and the esoteric name.

On account of the importance which the Christians attached to the "surname," they often adopted a more emphatic way of mentioning it than was used by the non-Christians: the latter regularly, and the former often, said, *Διόδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἀσβολος*, but the former alone said, *Διόδωρος ἐπὶ κλην Ἀσβολος*.

These considerations prove the probability that the inscription is Christian. Now its date may, on grounds of style and lettering, be confidently assigned as not much later than 200 A.D. Marcus Aurelius Diodorus then was born during the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.). He provided a tomb during his lifetime for himself and his family: apparently he was at the time not at a very

<sup>1</sup> Macrina μὲν ἦν ἐν φανερωῇ τὸ ὄνομα· ἕτερον δὲ κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς αὐτῇ ἐπεκέκλητο. Greg., *Vit. Macrin.*, p. 178 (Morell).

advanced age, for his wife and all his children are still living, and, according to the probable completion of the last line, the wife of one of his sons receives the right of burial in the family sepulchre. The clause was evidently added as an afterthought, and at a later time, in pursuance of the stipulation at the beginning that "while I am still living I shall bury whomsoever I please." The most natural interpretation therefore is that the main inscription was engraved before the son was married; and afterwards, when he married, his wife was included in the family and was given the right of burial. If then the document is Christian, it has special interest as one of the oldest memorials of the Phrygian Christians, and deserves careful consideration in order that any information may be elicited from it about the position of Christians in the city of Hierapolis, where a Church existed as early as the time when Saint Paul wrote to the Colossians, "Epaphras hath a great zeal for you, and for them of Laodicea, and for them of Hierapolis." The whole phraseology of the document is cast in the same mould as ordinary pagan documents of the kind, yet the language is varied in a slight yet remarkable way, which might readily pass unnoticed by any who were not on the outlook. Now this is precisely what we should expect in a public Christian document of the period; concealment so far as was consistent with truth was necessary for safety, and was prescribed by the Church. "We praise not those who voluntarily surrender themselves, for so are we not taught in the Gospel." The tone of many other inscriptions confirms the general impression derived from this one, that the Christians of that period tried in outward demeanour to assimilate themselves to their neighbours, and to avoid drawing attention to themselves by marked peculiarities and profession. They use the same names, and express themselves in almost the same terms as their non-Christian neighbours. Objects and

deas which are strictly Christian are indicated by ambiguous terms or by terms otherwise unknown and unintelligible. Slight variations are introduced into current language, which are not sufficiently strong to attract notice from ordinary persons, but are sufficient to produce a new tone and character. These slight variations are often in themselves interesting; they impart a certain depth and sincerity to the common things and the stereotyped formulæ of life. In general, one is struck with the fact that wherever there is a touch of natural feeling, of real life, or of kindly sentiment, the epitaph is almost always Christian.

Assuming then that M. Waddington's suggestion is correct, and that the inscription is Christian,<sup>1</sup> is it possible to interpret the ambiguous or unknown expressions? It may of course be assumed that a Christian, as was already proved, would leave his property only to a Christian society, and the "Council of Presidence of the Purple-dippers" must be the governing body of the Christian community. The phrase, "Council of Presidence," is unique: it probably means the body of Proedroi or Presidents. The expression President of the Church (*πρόεδρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας*) is used by Eusebius to designate the bishop, and it is therefore quite in accordance with known usage to interpret the phrase in our text as the Council of Presbyters, which co-operated with the bishop in directing the affairs of a Christian Church. This Council is called by Ignatius "Council of the Bishop" (*συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, *Philad.* 8). Then comes the most remarkable term, "Purple-dippers." The course of the argument has led us to the conclusion that the Christian community was organized as a corporation under this name, like the "Neighbourhood of First-Gate-People" at Acmonia. Now Hierapolis, with

<sup>1</sup> His words indeed do not go quite so far as this. "Il est difficile de ne pas y reconnaître l'influence de christianisme, qui de très-bonne heure poussa de profondes racines à Hiérapolis."



its mineral springs (in which I think from the taste that alum is an element), was a great place for dyers, and a non-Christian society, "the Corporation of Dyers," is known to have existed at Hierapolis. It is therefore clear that this Christian community was publicly understood as the "Purple-dyers." But the two terms are not exactly the same in form: the pagan society was the βαφείς, but the Christian name ends in -βαφοί,<sup>1</sup> and such a word may be understood according to variation of accent as "Purple-dipped" or "Purple-dippers." I look upon the name of the Christian community of Hierapolis as intentionally ambiguous: it was understood by the world "dippers in purple," but by the initiated "dipped in purple," "washed in blood."

The conjecture may be hazarded that the "wonted day," which is mentioned in the text, is the day of the Nativity and of the Epiphany, which at this period were celebrated together on the sixth of January. The day was called "the feast of Lights," or "day of Lights," or "the Lights." In that case "papoī" would be a secret name for the candles and torches which were to be burned. The interest of 3,000 denarii at five per cent. would be 150 denarii, about £5. In case of neglect to expend the entire sum on lights, the residue is to be applied to another purpose, which presents another difficulty and another unique phrase. The residue is to be given to the "Corporation of Thremmata."<sup>1</sup> *Thremmata* is ordinarily in such inscriptions to be under-

<sup>1</sup> The word may be either πορφυραβάφοι actively or πορφυράβαφοι passively. The accent is of course not indicated in early manuscripts or inscriptions. The word occurs only here, in the genitive plural, and is susceptible also of being formed from a nominative ending, in -βαφής, which could only mean "Purple-dipped." M. Waddington accents -βαφῶν, and seems to treat it as a genitive wrongly formed from -βαφεύς, a dyer. This, as I contend, is a typical example of the neglect of a slight yet important difference. Numerous monuments in large letters beside the public roads showed Diodorus that βαφέων was the customary genitive.

<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς θρεμματικῆς: the last word never occurs except in this place.

stood as dependants or slaves brought up in the house, who were also called Threptoi; and the corporation might be intended to look after foundlings, or, as M. Waddington suggests, for looking after the children of slaves. The Greek words might also be rendered, quite in accordance with usage, as "the institute for education and upbringing." Finally the word *Thremma* may mean "sheep," and the intention of the phrase may be symbolical. Members of the Church are frequently described as "sheep" in early Christian literature and art: the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb is one of the earliest subjects in Christian art, an old Greek artistic type adapted to a new signification. The very word here used (*θρέμμα*) is employed by Chrysostom in a comparison between Jacob, as leader of unreasoning, and the bishop, as leader of rational, sheep. If any of these suggestions gives the true sense, the intention is charitable, and the testament provides that such of the annual interest as was not expended in the great annual ceremony of the Church should be devoted to some charitable purpose.

Marcus Aurelius Diodorus must have been a man of wealth and importance in Hierapolis. His tomb occupies a conspicuous position in the most frequented quarter, at the edge of the road near the gate of the city, where land would be very dear. Though not one of the ambitious monuments, it is in point of external appearance quite worthy of its position. Finally, the bequest of 3,000 denarii (about £100), in the case where children were living, implies considerable wealth, for a man was not free to leave his property away from his natural heirs; both custom and express law forbade such alienation. I shall now quote some other examples of Christians of wealth and standing during the third century. They all belong to Eumeneia, a rich and important city, which appears to have been the stronghold of Christianity in Phrygia.

21. *"To the happy dead."*

*Aurelius Eutyches, surnamed Helix, son of Hermes, citizen of Eumeneia and of other cities, Senator and Geraios, of the tribe Adrianis, constructed the tomb to himself and his highly respected and beloved wife Marcella, and their children. And if any other shall attempt to bury any one, he shall have to reckon with the living God."*

The opening phrase alone would be sufficient to stamp this as Christian: the thought is similar to No. 11 and a phrase in No. 18. The expression "surnamed" has been already noticed, as known only in Christian documents. Finally the concluding words, "the living God," are equally decisive as to the religion of the deceased. Eutyches Helix was a citizen of Eumeneia and other cities; if he had been a heathen, we might have understood that such places as Acmonia, Apameia, etc., were the other cities of which he was a burgess. But in the case of a Christian the meaning is different; the true sense is shown by a famous phrase which occurs in two other epitaphs to be noticed hereafter, "citizen of a select city." Eutyches intimates in the usual obscure terms that he is a citizen of Eumeneia, and of the heavenly city. The name of his "highly respected and beloved wife," Marcella, was that of the most famous Christian family of central Phrygia,<sup>1</sup> and if she belonged to that family we can understand the reason of the encomium. Either of the epithets "respected" and "beloved" is common in non-Christian epitaphs; the union of the two is unknown to me, except in this case. This is one more instance of the way in which the Phrygian Christians of the third century use the expressions and formulæ of their non-Christian neighbours, and yet vary them in such a way as to give a new tone and feeling to them. The fervour of their religion, persecuted as it was, gave a depth and sincerity to their language even in the common things and the stereotyped formulæ of life.

<sup>1</sup> I shall have occasion to allude to it later.

The standing of Eutyches Helix is worthy of notice. He is a senator, and must therefore have been a man of mark and leading in his city. The term *Geraios*, literally "old," occurs only here and in No. 25 as an official title. If it denoted a pagan office it would almost certainly occur in some of the many inscriptions which give the career of municipal honours of distinguished non-Christian citizens. It therefore in all probability denotes a Christian office, and it is evidently used on account of its colourless character, and its close analogy to the pagan term *Gerousia*, the Council of Gerontes, or old men, which existed in every Phrygian city. *Geraios* then must denote a member of the council of Presbyters, or Elders, which ruled every Christian Church; and we have thus the interesting case of the same person being presbyter of a Christian Church and senator of a Roman city.

22. "*Aurelius Zoticus, son of Praxias, a Eumenian senator, constructed the tomb for himself, and for my wife Glyconis, and for my children,<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Zoticus my son, and Dionysius, and Amnia my daughter, and Mertine Ithis. No other shall have liberty of burial, and if any one shall place another body in the grave, he shall forfeit to the most sacred Treasury 2,500 denarii, and what is greatest of all, he shall have to reckon with God.*"

Except in the concluding phrase, there is nothing in the expression or the personal names to distinguish this from ordinary epitaphs. Like the last, it has all the appearance of a third century inscription.

23. "*Aurelius Alexander, son of Alexander, and grandson of Epigonus, a Eumenian senator, constructed the tomb for myself and my wife Tation, and if any other shall thrust in (a corpse), he shall have to reckon with God.*"

In this case also there is only the concluding formula, in its simplest form, to mark the religion. Like Nos. 21 and 22, it may be assigned with confidence to the period about

<sup>1</sup> The variation between first and third person is curious, but many examples occur.



250 A.D., and they give us some conception of the strength of the Christian element in Eumeneia.

24. "*Aurelius Menophilus, son of Menophilus, and grandson of Asclepiades, Senator, constructed the grave in front of this stone [for himself] and his son Apollonius and his son's wife Meltime and for Menophilus and Asclepiades his grandchildren, and for whomsoever he himself while still living shall choose [and if any other shall attempt], he shall have to reckon with Christ.*"

The last word is given in the monogram  $\text{X}\text{P}$ . The expression is peculiar and unique; but the religion of Menophilus cannot be doubtful. The symbol would lead us to bring down the date as low as possible, but the numerous names are distinctively third century. The variation in the final formula, "with Christ," is later than the original form "with God." The date may probably be about 300 A.D.

25. "*Fare ye well.*"

*Aurelius Gemellos, son of Menas, Senator, to his sweetest parents, Aurelius Menas, Senator, Geraios, son of Menas, grandson of Philip, and Aurelia Apphion, daughter of Artas, at his own expense, his own property,<sup>1</sup> in which he previously buried his brother Philip and his paternal aunt Cyrilla and his cousin Paula; and there shall be buried in it his foster-sister Philete, and any other to whom he shall give permission during his life-time; and whosoever shall attempt to intrude another, shall receive from Immortal God an everlasting scourge."*

This inscription looks rather later in style than the preceding three, for the names are more Christian in type; but the disguised term Geraios instead of Presbyter appears to me to mark it as older than the open recognition of Christianity by the State. This took place in Rome in the year 312, but can hardly have become effective in Phrygia till 323, when Constantine defeated Licinius, and for the first

<sup>1</sup> The expression is unusual, and is given up as miscopied in C.I.G. 3,891, where it is taken from Hamilton. Hamilton's copy of this inscription however is almost perfectly accurate. Gemellos stipulates that the monument, though erected for his parents, is to remain his own private property under his own direction. His parents were still living.

time became master of Asia. But even if my inference from the term Geraios be uncertain, and though perhaps Gemellos may have been a senator after Constantine, his father must have been a member of the Senate and the Council of Elders at an earlier time.

The names Paula and Cyrilla and Philip, and perhaps Philete, though all used by pagans, are peculiarly common among Phrygian Christians, and are characteristic of the latter part of the third and the fourth centuries.

In my previous paper I remarked (No. 7) that "the formation of a regular Christian nomenclature for persons does not [in Phrygia] seem to be earlier than A.D. 300"; but further study has led me to the conclusion that this date is quite fifty years too late. I have throughout this study been always on my guard against placing the inscriptions too early, and in this instance at least I have placed a fact of history quite half a century too late. The names to which I refer are, with one or two exceptions, such as "Maria" and "Nonna," used also in non-Christian Phrygian families, and they are almost all purely Greek in type. They are however particularly favoured by Christians, the reason probably being that they had been borne by distinguished champions of the faith; and where several of them occur together in a family, it may be taken for granted that the family is Christian.

I shall add three more dated examples, which show that the first beginnings of a distinctively Christian terminology in Phrygia goes back as early as 250 A.D.

26. "*In the year 348 [263-4 A.D.]*

*And to his daughter Maria.*

*Zenodotus, son of Zeno, constructed the tomb to himself and his son Zeno, and the bride (of Zeno) Tatia; and if any other shall attempt, he shall have to reckon with God."*

The second line was inserted, at a later time and in smaller characters, near the top of the stone, between the

first and second lines. This is one of the earliest known examples of the use of the personal name Maria in ordinary life.

The name most commonly used in Phrygia during the third century for the grave is *Heroon* (ἡρώου). Strictly this word involves the idea that the dead person is deified as a "Hero," and worshipped by his descendants, but still it is commonly used by Christians as well as pagans. But the words indicating "sleep" and "rest" (κοιμάομαι and ἀναπáνωμαι) began to be favoured by the former during the third century, and instead of the pagan word *Heroon* the Christian term, "sleeping-place," *cœmeterion*, began to be used. At the end of my first paper, I mentioned the use of these words as being characteristic of a later age; but the following two dated examples prove that they came into at least occasional use as early as A.D. 250.

27. "In the year 335 [250-1 A.D.]

*Aphphia, daughter of Phrougios, constructed the sleeping-place for herself and her husband Diodotus and her sweetest children, Phrougios and Tatia, and her adopted daughter Rhodope; and as long as I live I shall bury in it whomsoever I please; and after my death it shall not be lawful for any other to be buried [here], only my daughter Tata, and if any other shall thrust in [a body], he shall be accursed before God to everlasting."*

It is doubtful whether *Tata* is a mere slip for *Tatia*, or whether another daughter is meant.

28. "In the year 345 [260-1 A.D.]

*Aurelius Symphoros constructed the sleeping-place for myself and for my wife and for my son: and if any other shall bury, he shall have to reckon with God."*

These two inscriptions belong, one to a small country town named Bria, near Eumeneia, and the latter to Eumeneia itself.

This type of word, Greek as a rule in origin and form, must be carefully distinguished from another type, ex-

clusively Christian and derived from the Bible, such as John, Peter, etc., which does not begin before the middle of the fourth century. The change in the fashion of names is not without interest. The introduction of purely Biblical names of non-Hellenic and oriental type marks the beginning of the breach between the Eastern Church and the old civilization and literature of Greece and Rome, and the introduction of a tone which soon hardened into a narrow and exclusive spirit of self-satisfied intolerance, and which seems at last to have destroyed education in Asia Minor. The Eastern Church has throughout its history been far less favourable to the spread of education than the western; but such is not the character of the earliest Phrygian Church. The impression which pre-Constantine religion makes on us through its inscriptions is singularly favourable. It certainly advanced education in the less educated districts, though unfortunately it killed the native languages in the process. A certain tone of individuality, of free use of literary material, of nature and truth and deeper emotion, breathes even through the epitaphs. I have elsewhere quoted a few scattered indications of a nascent Phrygian literature of the period 300 to 450. It begins with works on the antiquities of Phrygia and studies in the Greek metres, and ends in legendary biographies of Phrygian martyrs, biographies not indeed of a high type, but still not altogether devoid of interest. It would be difficult to find any indications of education in Phrygia at any other period, and its existence at this time may be traced to the influence of the new religion both on its adherents and on its opponents.

W. M. RAMSAY.

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## STUDIES IN PRACTICAL EXEGESIS.

## II.

## PSALM IV.

THE idea of a special providence is one that cannot be proved except by the logic of a believing heart. Faith has its intuitions, and the more we live by faith the more certain to us will its intuitions become. Another of these intuitions, which commend themselves to us the more we act upon them, is that many Biblical passages refer, not only to the original writer and his times, but to servants of God in every age, whether it be Jesus in His human ministry, or the followers of Jesus united to Him by a living faith. "Scripture," as a great preacher—may I not almost say, a great psalmist among the bishops?—has said, "is not a book from which inspiration has departed; it *is* inspired."<sup>1</sup> Why should it be thought a thing incredible that He who enabled psalmists and prophets to speak the word in season to the men of their own day should have infused Elisha's portion of the original inspiring breath into the written record of their songs and oracles? It may be objected that this is to make the reading of the Bible a sacrament, and that the apostles only recognised two sacraments. The answer is that we do not *make* it a sacrament; it *was* a sacrament before the Christian Church came into being; and since there is nothing Judaic about it, since it answers to a permanent religious need of human nature, it cannot be abolished. So far from abolishing it, the great Head of the Church again and again recognised its sacramental efficacy, not merely for the congregation but for the individual. I know that this enlargement of the definition of sacrament may savour to some of Romanism. But the fault of Romanism-is, not that it recognises too many sacraments, but that it does not recognise enough. We

dare not limit the power of the Spirit to communicate a sacramental potency to the most commonplace form of daily life. This however is but a glance at a wide subject. All that I am bound to claim to-day is, that if the Scriptures are read in the right spirit, they will, or may, convey to him who reads a special, private message from God. I am well aware that in former times this happy faith was sometimes connected with illusions or even with superstitions. When, by a mere accident, St. Augustine, just before his conversion, heard a voice as of a child "singing and oft repeating, *Take, read; Take, read,*" and interpreted this as a Divine command to open the New Testament, and read the first chapter he should find,<sup>1</sup> he was under an illusion, which God graciously overruled to his spiritual profit. The nobler and worthier course however is to put aside all such arbitrary means of obtaining messages from heaven, and look for the blessing to come in the ordinary course of our Bible-reading. So full of significance is the language of Scripture, and so varied is the experience of its writers, that a thoughtful believer who looks out, as Elijah did, cannot fail to catch some still, small whisper to himself;<sup>2</sup> and the better he understands the historical sense, the more likely is he to find out the best spiritual sense. In a word, unconventional Bible study, rightly pursued, is the friend and not the foe of edification.

But though, as one of the epistles tells us, "*all inspired Scripture is profitable,*" and by a comprehensive study of it "*the man of God is thoroughly furnished unto all good works*" (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17), yet there is one book which is specially owned by the Holy Spirit in His communings with the soul: it is the Book of Psalms. Of this book it may truly be said, that it not only was inspired in the past,

<sup>1</sup> Aug., *Confessions* viii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. an interesting report of a conversation at Trinity Lodge, Cambridge, on the question whether Shakespeare intended all the meaning which others found in his words (Cox's *Life of Bishop Colenso*, i. 34).

but is fraught with new and equally inspired applications day by day. Some of us have doubtless thought, when listening to some fine cathedral anthem, that musical genius has filled the words with a pathos that would have surprised the Psalmist himself. But surely this is not only, nor even chiefly, true of the genius of the composer :

“ Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard  
Are sweeter.”

Great as Purcell's genius was, there is a finer music than his, though it has never been expressed in musical notes. The greatest of musicians is the soul, whose changeful history may with equal justice be compared to a picture or a statue, and to a piece of music which is slowly being produced from the hidden recesses of genius ; with equal justice, I say, except that in the case of the soul there are two co-operating artists, and the greater of them is not the individual, but his God. And so it comes to pass that, as we read the Scriptures, and are conscious in some hitherto unfelt manner of the applicability of some sentence or even word to ourselves, it is equally our own spirit which finds this out and the Spirit of God who reveals it to us. In a word, the soul can infuse ever fresh pathos into the ancient Psalms—the pathos of its own experience. And I think it is useful—delightful it certainly is—to collect the instances in history and biography (and can we not supplement these from our own personal history ?) in which those who have gone before have received messages through the Psalms—messages, I mean, from the God of love, who is the great Artist of our lives, and whose workmanship we should spoil if He did not give us suggestions and directions, rebukes and encouragements. Let us therefore begin our too short meditation on the fourth Psalm by recalling another incident in the life of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aug., *Confessions* ix. 3, 4. (I quote from the translation in Griffith & Farran's Theological Library.) See also Bishop Alexander's beautiful poem, *St. Augustine's Holiday*.

For many years before his conversion this great saint (mentioned in the Anglican calendar on August 28th) had lived by teaching literature and the art of oratory. The nearer he came to the faith of the Catholic Church the less satisfaction could he find in the empty phrases and sophistical arguments which constituted, so to speak, his stock in trade. At last he resolved, as he himself tells us, to withdraw the service of his tongue from the talk-market, being wounded with the arrow of Divine love.<sup>1</sup> It was the vintage season, and a friend offered him his country house, near the lakes and mountains of Lombardy, that he might, with his mother and his intimates, spend some quiet, thoughtful weeks before his baptism. Augustine was never a narrow-minded pietist, and doubtless had other books with him beside the Bible; but not even Virgil spoke to his heart like the Latin Psalter, so suggestive by its rugged brevity of deep, mystic applications. "With what accents," he says, "did I address Thee, O my God, when I read the Psalms of David! and how was I by them kindled towards Thee, and on fire to recite them, if possible, throughout the whole circle of the earth, to subdue the pride of the human race? With what vehement and bitter sorrow was I indignant against the Manichæans" (the heretical teachers by whom St. Augustine had so long been deluded). "Would that they had then been somewhere near me," he continues, "without my knowing that they were there, could have beheld my countenance, and heard my words when I read the fourth psalm in that time of my rest, and how that psalm wrought upon me!" And then he goes through the psalm, applying it partly to himself in his converted state, partly to those who, like himself formerly, "loved vanity

<sup>1</sup> Some words of St. Augustine's have a history like the Psalmists'. "Sagittaveras Tu, Domine, caritate tuâ," is the inscription on a silver plate on a sarcophagus recently found at St. Mandrier, near Toulon, and thought to be that of St. Flavier, who was massacred by the Visigoths, in 512 (*Standard*, Oct. 9th, 1888).



and sought after lies," *i.e.* the vain imaginations of the heretics and the rhetoricians, partly, as in verse 3, to Christ, "the man that is godly, whom the Lord had chosen to Himself. I read on, 'Be ye angry and sin not,'" he says; "and how was I moved, O my God, who had now learned to be angry with myself for things past, that for the future I might not sin! . . . Nor were my good things now without; for they that would have joy from without soon become empty. Oh that they were wearied out with their want, and said, 'Who will show us any good?' And we would say, and they hear, 'The light of Thy countenance is sealed upon us.' Oh that they could see the Inward Light eternal, which I, having tasted, did gnash my teeth that I could not show them! For 'Thou hadst put gladness in my heart.' And I cried out, as I read this outwardly, and recognised its truth within: nor did I wish to be increased in earthly good, wasting time and being wasted by it, when I might possess in Thy Eternal Simplicity other 'corn and wine and oil.'" Next he proceeds to draw mystic meanings from the closing verse of the psalm. Two words strike him especially—"in peace" and "in the selfsame." He does not understand the verse aright, but he invents a new conclusion, more glorious but not therefore more beautiful than the true one,<sup>1</sup> and such as the psalmist himself would not perhaps have disavowed had he known the truths of Christianity. This is what he takes the verse to mean—"In peace will I lay me down in the Selfsame One, and take my rest, knowing that 'Death shall be swallowed up in victory.' And Thou, who indeed changest not, art that 'Selfsame'; nor are we to seek those many other things which are not what Thou art;

<sup>1</sup> As Trench remarks, speaking of St. Augustine's denial that "sleep" and "awaking" in Psalm xxxv. are to be taken literally, "Is not the wondrous mystery of our sleeping and waking well worthy of a psalmist's recognition?" (*Sermon on the Mount*, p. 58.)

‘for Thou, Lord, only hast made me dwell in hope’ ” (of the resurrection to eternal life).

St. Augustine is not an accurate interpreter, least of all of the Old Testament ; but his wonderful spiritual insight makes even his mistakes instructive. See how vividly he realizes that the enemies referred to in the psalm are the enemies of the Church, and enemies who professedly at least belong to the household of faith ! The Manichæans of whom he speaks were, in fact, not less dangerous to the Church than heathen persecutors, and fascinated many who asked of the Scriptures more than they were meant to give. This shows us how to read some of the psalms. The foes against whom we pray are not only without but within the Church. All forms of moral and intellectual error are foes, not to be put down by force, but to be prayed against, subject of course to the proviso, “ Thy will, not mine, be done ” ; for it is not God’s will to put down error until the Church of Christ has made honey of it : every form of widely spread error springs from the Church’s unconsciousness of some truth which is the appointed antidote of that error.

But St. Augustine not only expostulates with the Church’s foes in the name of the Church, he speaks as one who has himself suffered from their wiles. We need not be like him in this. Let simple-minded believers keep their simplicity, if Providence has placed them where they can rightly do so ; and let none think to find out truth by beginning with the study of what the common Christian consciousness pronounces to be error. But it is to those who, through their own experience or that of others, have learned to know the errors of the times, that this psalm chiefly appeals. Nothing is gained by shutting ourselves up in a castle of unreasoning faith, if sooner or later the gate is sure to be burst open. That so-called Christian training which discourages familiarity by discussion with problems

of modern thought results too often in the production of more heretics, and at the best is a cowardice unworthy of any one who can presume to say, *I believe in the Holy Ghost*. By all means be loyal to Christ in thought and word and deed, but remember that no formula, even if it were expressed in the words of the Bible, could exhaust that "all truth" into which Christ promises to lead His followers. It is the duty of an educated Christian to listen calmly and kindly to what he believes to be error, and find out what the missing truth is to which this error points the way; and it is the duty of properly trained Christian ministers to assist him in his quest. The young Augustine's fault was in listening to Manichæanism before he had studied Catholicism. But he became all the more useful afterwards as a teacher of the Catholic faith through the knowledge which he had acquired of heretical thought. I do not say that he is perfect as an apologist; no, the grounds which he offers for accepting the faith of the Church would not be sufficient for any thoughtful man in our own day. But as a teacher of positive truth he stands far higher than he would have done without such a long and intimate acquaintance with unbelief and error. And we must not shrink from contact either with unbelief or with heresy, whether in books and magazines or in private intercourse, at least if we would be well-grounded and broad-minded Christians of the school of St. Paul and St. Augustine.

The strength of the author of the *Confessions* did not, as I have said, lie in exact interpretation; nor can I commend the use of commentaries which follow his injudicious leading. As a commentator, he may be said not so much to interpret the psalms as to rewrite them; the psalmists would indeed have been surprised at the injury often done to their own grand thoughts. I do not object on principle to rewriting the psalms, but I do object to the most elo-

quent sermon which forces the psalmists to say what is not even in germ contained in their words. I believe that some of our hymns may, in a high sense, be styled rewritten psalms, and I wish far more of them could receive this glorious eulogium. When will our poets take up the harp once swept by the hand of David? Sometimes, I know, they have done so. I cannot make my own the sad complaint of one whom I have ventured to call "almost a psalmist," and who is, as I think, unjust to some of our noblest strains of sacred poetry.

"I read again that wondrous song,  
So strongly sweet, and sweetly strong,  
That ancient poem, whose music shivers  
With a chime of rolling rivers  
Through the forest of the psalms.

\* \* \* \* \*

'And why,' I thought, 'must she be still,  
The Muse, that with her hallowed fire  
Those chosen shepherds did inspire  
Of Bethlehem and of Horeb's hill?

\* \* \* \* \*

In Christ's own Church must she rest now,  
Fair, angel-fair, but frozen, like  
A marble maid, whose death-white fingers  
Enclasp a harp, o'er which she lingers  
Stone-silent, but may never strike'?"<sup>1</sup>

No doubt our sacred canticles are a very wilderness; but amidst the tangled growths could we not find fifty worthy companions of the 150 songs of Zion—rewritten, glorified Christian psalms, as full of genuine, wholesome, human feeling, and of many-toned, radiant poetry, and of essential religious truth as the psalms of Israel?<sup>2</sup>

Meantime let both preachers and hymnists beware of

<sup>1</sup> Alexander: *Poems*, p. 67 ("Super Flumina").

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Alexander's estimate of the Hebrew psalms I can accept with but little deduction, but I do think his depreciation of Christian hymns is excessive. Much fairer and more historical is the view of hymnology taken by the writer of an interesting article in the *London Quarterly Review*, April, 1888.



rewriting the psalms in a wrong sense, and let all of us reverence Him who inspired the psalmists by studying the message which He gave through them to the men of their times. By sheer spiritual insight, St. Augustine caught a part of this message, but he left much behind. Another part was recovered in the age of the Reformation; and we cannot doubt that still more will yet be found, now that God has begun to revive our zeal for the study of the Scriptures. I have no leisure now to study the fourth psalm as a whole, and to show how, in his preoccupation with Christian doctrines, St. Augustine overlooks some obviously correct meanings as full of edification as they could be. I will merely dwell in conclusion on the sixth verse, which needs no rewriting to convey a special message to men of our own time.

I suppose it is true that, both from within and from without, the Church and the English nation are beset by threatening dangers. Yet we, like the psalmist, ought to refuse to be afraid, remembering that the story both of England and of the Church is full of Divine lovingkindness.

*"See what marvellous lovingkindness Jehovah hath shown me;*

*Jehovah heareth when I call unto him."*

This is what ought to be the language of every true Christian and every true Englishman. There are no doubt only too many in our land who cannot join in this expression of gratitude and confidence. How gloomy appears the prospect both for our nation and for mankind to some of our purest-minded writers! How earnest, but how sad they are! "Who will give us a glimpse of good fortune?" they say; and what they mean is, "Durable good fortune will never be ours." We have no more illusions left, the world is growing old, our nation has seen its best days, and must yield at last to the universal law of death.

I do not say that the psalmist meant all this. His hori-

zon and that of his companions was too narrow. Israel had not yet engaged in commerce, and still courted isolation. The good fortune which the speakers long for, but dare not hope to see, is the peaceful enjoyment of their fields and vineyards, and abundant harvests and vintages. These blessings being for the present denied them, they consider that God is displeased with them, although, as they think, there has been no failure in their performance of their duty towards Him. This insisting upon a material reward of obedience to God's law is the weak side of the old Jewish religion. It was a pathetic illusion of some of the best men that piety ought to lead to earthly prosperity; we studied one remarkable instance of it last month in the thirty-second psalm. But this fourth psalm was written by a man who had surmounted this common error; he knows better himself than to insist on temporal blessings when he has that within his reach which is better than life itself. "Jehovah, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us." This might mean, "Thou alone, O God, canst restore prosperity to us." But it really means more than this. For the psalmist continues,

*"Thou hast put gladness in my heart*

*More than they have when their corn and their wine are increased."*

He does not mind passing through the "vale of misery," for he knows how to make it full of fountains. Every true pilgrim has a staff of Moses to draw living water from the rock. He will not indeed see God's face in perfection till he wakes up (according to the sublime figure of another psalmist) from the sleep of life.<sup>1</sup> But a reflexion of Divine glory accompanies him through life, as the pillar of cloud and fire accompanied the Israelites in the desert. A prose-

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xvii. 15, assuming my own interpretation to be correct; viz. that "when I awake" = "when life's short day is past." Comp. the last line in Blanco White's famous sonnet, "If light can thus deceive, wherefore not life?"

poet has said of the glow of sunset, "O my friends, are not these the gates of glory, wide open for departed spirits, that they may sail in on wings into the heart of eternal life?"<sup>1</sup>

I would rather apply the same figure to the daily experience of the Christian, and say that just as the light of the setting sun bathes even the meanest houses on the other side of yon river in a stream of glory, so this spiritual light elevates and enriches the inner consciousness of the poorest and least prosperous of Christ's disciples. It is not to the other world alone that those beautiful words of Psalm xxxvi. refer:

"For with Thee is the fountain of life;  
In Thy light do we see light."

Nor is it only of the new heavens and the new earth that the oracle was spoken, "Behold, I make all things new." Yes; the sun of the love of Jesus which makes all things new to those who love Him.

"Lord, lift Thou up the light of Thy countenance upon us."

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## THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST.

(HEB. vi. 1, 2.)

THIS passage undoubtedly bristles with difficulties. Take up any commentary, and you will soon find how various and conflicting are the views that have been taken of its meaning. Close the book and meditate upon the solution which the writer himself prefers, and we shall be surprised

<sup>1</sup> The Ettrick Shepherd in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. But how much finer is the expressive Scottish!

if it brings much satisfaction to your mind. At first sight, one thing seems very plain, and it is indeed the only thing on which most commentators are agreed, that the teaching of these two verses is, that the first principles of the doctrine of Christ are six in number; namely, repentance, faith, baptism, laying on of hands, resurrection, judgment. Yet it is here we believe that they have all with few exceptions gone astray, and it is to this first error that all the subsequent confusion and bewilderment are due. Before entering on anything like a minute examination of the various clauses, there are certain general preliminary considerations that may well suggest a doubt of the correctness of our first impression, that six principles of Christian doctrine are here laid down.

In the first place, it is difficult to see how the "doctrine of baptisms" can be one of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Here the great stumbling-block in the way of interpreters is the plural number. Had it been "the doctrine of baptism," all would have been plain and simple. Some explanation of that initiatory rite would have come in very appropriately in the most elementary statement of Christian truth. And some have tried to escape the difficulty by suggesting that the plural may be used with reference to the "multiplicity of the candidates and of the acts of baptism performed on their behalf."<sup>1</sup> But this is a mere evasion. The commonly received explanation is, "that the plural βαπτισμοί denotes Christian baptism, along with the Jewish baptism of proselytes, and that of John inclusive." But how unlikely that this should have a place among the first principles of the faith! The question of the relation subsisting between these different baptisms may not be without its interest, but it is neither very simple and elementary in its nature, nor to us at least of much practical importance. Would the sacred writer have

<sup>1</sup> De Wette, as quoted by Delitzsch.



put an abstruse and ephemeral question like this among the six foundation principles of the Christian faith? The same thing may be said of the next particular, "the laying on of hands." Some regard this as descriptive of the ceremony of "confirmation," some of "ordination" to the holy ministry, and some of the laying on of the Apostles' hands with a view to the conferring of the Holy Ghost. But there is a difficulty in believing that any of these should be ranked among the six primary and fundamental points of New Testament doctrine. They certainly do not appear to hold any such place in the teaching of our Lord or His Apostles. Again, the question naturally arises, Why is the word, διδαχῆς, "the teaching of" introduced in connexion with some, but not with all the particulars here enumerated? This of itself is fitted to suggest that the "baptisms and laying on of hands," to which that word is prefixed, stand on a different platform from "repentance," "faith," "resurrection," and "judgment," which are not so introduced. And finally, the most important point of all is, that βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς ought to be translated, not "the doctrine of baptisms," but "the doctrine of washings." The term used to denote baptism in the New Testament is βάπτισμα. The word βαπτισμός here used occurs only in three places; in Mark vii. 4, where it refers to the Pharisaic custom of washing cups and pots and brazen vessels; in Heb. ix. 10, where it refers to the many washings required by the law of Moses; and in this place, where we have no right to give it an entirely different meaning.

Thus far we have only considered one or two preliminary objections to the currently received view of the number of "first principles" here laid down. But let us now look a little more narrowly into the structure of the sentence, that we may see if it fairly admits of any different classification, against which no such objections can be raised.

“Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works.” There is no question as to this particular. Repentance from dead works, *i.e.* the duty of turning away with grief and hatred from evil and defiling deeds, is obviously a fundamental point of Christian doctrine. So also is the next, “faith toward or upon (ἐπὶ) God.” We have only to look at the eleventh chapter, and indeed at the general strain of the whole epistle, to see that in the estimation of the writer faith in God is quite as essential as repentance. These two Christian graces are inseparably connected. They are of co-ordinate importance, standing on the same level, and so they are here united by the strong conjunction καί. But now at this point there is a break, indicated both by the absence of a connecting particle, and by the interjection of the word διδαχῆς. The clauses, literally rendered and properly punctuated, would read thus: “Not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith upon God (the teaching of washings and of laying on of hands), and of resurrection of the dead and of eternal judgment.” This arrangement of the clauses, obviously suggested if not imperatively required by the omission of a conjunction after “faith upon God,” and the insertion of the word διδαχῆς instead, clearly brings out this, that the middle clause, “the teaching of washings and of laying on of hands,” is in apposition to what goes before and expegetical of its meaning. It is a statement thrown in by the way, to the effect that repentance and faith are the teaching of washings and of laying on of hands. We have seen already that the washings here referred to are not baptisms, the word never being used in that sense in all New Testament Scripture, but the “divers washings,” “imposed” by the law of Moses on the Jewish people, “until the time of reformation” (Heb. ix. 10). It goes without

saying that the writer of this epistle was ever on the watch for opportunities of bringing out the fact that in the gospel we have the fulfilment of the figures of the law. Accordingly, having mentioned repentance from dead works and faith on God as fundamental things in Christianity, he cannot refrain from embracing the opportunity of pointing out in passing the two legal rites by which they were strikingly set forth. We say the two legal rites, for if we must hold that βαπτισμῶν means the ablutions prescribed under the law and not baptism, whether Jewish, Johannean, or Christian, then we must find a similar reference in the ἐπιθέσεως χειρῶν. Had these words been found in another connexion they might have meant the laying on of apostolic hands, with a view to the bestowal of spiritual gifts, or the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, to set apart a brother for some special office or work. But here they must, like βαπτισμῶν, refer to some Old Testament rite or custom. And what that rite was the sacred writer here enables us with almost perfect certainty to determine. For he tells us that repentance from dead works was the thing taught by the washings prescribed as a remedy for ceremonial defilement—notably for that which was contracted by contact with the dead.<sup>1</sup> Is not this implied in the language of the prophet Jeremiah: “O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved: how long shall thy vain thoughts lodge within

<sup>1</sup> Num. xix. 7, 8, 10, 18, 19. It may be objected that βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς does not naturally mean, the doctrine taught by washings, but rather, the doctrine regarding washings. The very opposite is the case. Wherever in the New Testament a noun in the genitive follows διδαχῆ, it denotes the teacher, not the thing taught. The “doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees” (Matt. xvi. 12) was the doctrine taught by them. The “apostles’ doctrine” (Acts ii. 42) was the doctrine which the apostles taught. The “doctrine of Balaam” (Rev. ii. 14) is expressly defined to be the infamous counsel which he gave to Balak with the view of ensnaring Israel into sin. According to all these analogies, “the doctrine of washings” can only mean the thing which these washings taught. Had the author of this epistle meant to say, the doctrine regarding washings, he would have written, περὶ βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς.

thee?" The washing of the body was the outward symbol of the washing of the heart, and that is manifestly repentance. In like manner the writer of this epistle tells us that "faith on God" was the thing taught by the laying on of hands. Now the only laying on of hands that could well be regarded as symbolical of faith is that which was required of those who came to offer up an animal in sacrifice to God. Before the victim was slain, the offerer was to lay his hand upon its head, that it might "be accepted for him, to make atonement for him." That is to say, this action signified the transfer of guilt and punishment to a substitute, which, according to the teaching of the Apostle Paul, is the very function of justifying faith. This is very graphically brought out in the account given in Lev. xvi. of the proceedings of the great Day of Atonement, to which, as the typical case of laying on of hands, it is probable that the passage under consideration especially refers. "And Aaron shall lay both his hands (*καὶ ἐπιθήσει Ἀαρὼν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*) upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited."

The sacred writer, having mentioned faith and repentance, the two fundamental graces, or exercises of soul, by which we enter into the kingdom of God and obtain salvation here on earth, and having indicated in passing the two Mosaic rites in which they were visibly embodied, goes on to mention as two other first principles of the doctrine of Christ, the final development of that kingdom, and the full realization of that salvation at the end of the world. "The resurrection of the dead," whatever hints of it there may have been in the Pagan mythology and the prophetic



Scriptures, was essentially a Christian doctrine. And it is entitled to the place which it here holds among the elementary truths of the Gospel, both on account of its connexion with the resurrection of Christ, and its bearing on the comfort and happiness of the people of God. "Eternal judgment," which shall immediately follow the resurrection of the dead, may well be put upon the same footing with it, as a complementary truth of the first importance. For then the Judge shall pronounce the final sentence upon the quick and dead. Then shall the wicked be severed from among the just, and the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

These two "principles," like the previous two, are co-ordinated by being linked together by the conjunction *καί*: *ἀναστάσεώς τε νεκρῶν, καὶ κρίματος αἰωνίου*. It may be asked, Why are not the second and third of the four fundamentals—faith and the resurrection—in like manner co-ordinated by *καί*? The answer is twofold. In the first place, the train of thought has been interrupted by the digression, or parenthesis, regarding washings and laying on of hands, so suitable in an Epistle to the Hebrews, so much in keeping with the writer's aim throughout. This has separated the second and third of these particulars so far that had *καί* been used here as the connecting particle its reference might have been misunderstood. Even as it is, commentators have insisted on finding in this passage six co-ordinate "principles," instead of four with a parenthetical illustration in the midst. They would have had some plausible ground for this mistake had all the clauses been connected by the strong conjunction *καί*. The use of the lighter particle *τε* between "laying on of hands" and "resurrection of the dead" ought to have prevented the error into which they have fallen. But, in the second place, it is possible that we are to see in the preference for *τε* in introducing "resurrection" and "judgment," a sug-

gestion of the thought that even the four principles here enumerated are not precisely on the same level. Is it not evident that they consist of two couplets the members of which are more strongly tied together than the couplets are to one another? There is a closer connexion between faith and repentance on the one hand and resurrection and judgment on the other, than there is between the pairs themselves. Hence each pair is formed by the conjunction *καί*, while they are more loosely hung together by the enclitic *τε*, on the principle stated by the grammarians, "*τε* adjungit, *καί* conjungit."

It may be asked, If the meaning of the first clause of the second verse be what we have indicated above, why is *διδασχῆς* in the genitive case? Simply because it is in apposition to the previous clause, and, like it, under the government of *θεμέλιον*. "Not laying again the foundation . . . of the teaching of (or, the things taught by) washings and imposition of hands."

One other grammatical objection may be made to the view of the passage here proposed. It may be said, Why is *τε* used as the connecting particle between *βαπτισμῶν* and *ἐπιθέσεως* (*βαπτισμῶν διδασχῆς, ἐπιθέσεως τε χειρῶν*), where we should have expected *καί*? Well, that is a serious difficulty for those who hold that we have here six co-ordinate "principles of the doctrine of Christ." Why in that case should they not all be linked together by the same conjunction *καί*? But if we have in this clause a mere parenthesis, epexegetical of the first couplet, then the writer may have avoided the use of *καί*, to prevent our mistaking these two Old Testament rites for "principles of the doctrine of Christ," and putting them on the same platform with repentance and faith, resurrection and judgment.

The following translation, in which we have endeavoured in clumsy English to give effect to the change of particle in the Greek, may serve to show at a glance the view we

take of the true meaning of this much contested passage. We are aware, of course, that "also" is not a happy rendering of  $\tau\epsilon$ . "Wherefore let us cease to speak of the first principles of Christ, and press on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and faith exercised upon God (the things taught by washings, also by laying on of hands), also, the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment."

NOTE ON THE USAGE OF  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  AND  $\tau\epsilon$  IN THIS EPISTLE.

In Heb. i. 3 we read (R.V.), "Who being the effulgence of his glory, and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) the very image of his substance, and ( $\tau\epsilon$ ) upholding all things by the word of his power." The two things which the Son *is* are here coupled by the stronger  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ; while that which He *does* is linked to what He is by the feebler  $\tau\epsilon$ . And quite appropriately: for the one connexion is inward and essential, the other more arbitrary and accidental.

In Heb. iv. 12 we read (R.V.), "For the word of God is living and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) active, and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) sharper than any two-edged sword, and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) piercing even to the dividing of soul and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) spirit, of both ( $\tau\epsilon$ ) joints and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) marrow, and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) quick to discern the thoughts and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) intents of the heart." The four statements here made regarding the word of God—that it is living and active, sharp, piercing, discriminating—are all connected by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ . So too the four pairs, living and active, soul and spirit, joints and marrow, thoughts and intents, are coupled and co-ordinated by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ . But the weaker conjunction  $\tau\epsilon$  connects the pair, "soul and spirit" with the pair "joints and marrow." This case is somewhat similar to the one we have been considering, for "joints and marrow" are a mere parenthetical illustration, like "washings and laying on of hands." The word of God divides between soul and spirit as the dissecting knife does between joints and marrow. Hence in both

passages, to show that these couples are not in line with the others, but are mere passing illustrations, they are punctuated off, in the one case from the preceding, in the other from the following clause, by the use of  $\tau\epsilon$  rather than  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ .

In Heb. vi. 4, 5, we read (R.V.), "For as touching those who were once enlightened, and ( $\tau\epsilon$ ) tasted of the heavenly gift, and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) tasted the good word of God, and ( $\tau\epsilon$ ) the powers of the age to come, and ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) fell away." It is difficult to see the *rationale* of the use of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  and  $\tau\epsilon$  in the above sentence. According to the analogy of the two previous passages, we should have expected to find "the word of God" and "the powers of the age to come" connected by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ . And it is hard to explain why the first two particulars here enumerated should be united by  $\tau\epsilon$ , and all the others by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ , when they manifestly stand on the same plane, as things which appear to imply salvation, but which are yet compatible with final apostasy. This would seem to indicate that the writer is not always punctiliously consistent in the use of these particles. So much the better for the rendering advocated in this paper, which rests not on such grammatical niceties, but on broad general grounds.

R. G. BALFOUR.

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## THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

### V. THE CAPTAIN OF SALVATION (CHAP. II. 10).

IN this verse the writer goes on to state that the career of suffering to which Christ was subjected in this world was worthy of God. The affirmation is made to justify the bold assertion of the previous sentence, that the appointment of Jesus to taste death for others was a manifestation of grace



or favour on God's part towards His well-beloved Son. "By the grace of God I have said, and I said so deliberately; for it became Him who is the first and final cause of all to accomplish this great end, the salvation of men, in a way which involved suffering to the Saviour,"—such is the connexion of thought. The author feels that this is a position which must be made good in order to reconcile his readers to the humiliation and sufferings which Christ underwent. This he virtually acknowledges by the periphrastic manner in which he names God. If God be the last end of all, and the first cause of all, He must be the first and final cause of Christ's sufferings among other things; and unless it can be maintained that the end for which Christ suffered was worthy of Him who is the great end of the universe, and that the means employed for the attainment of that end were worthy of Him who is the first cause of everything that happens, the defence of the Christian faith is a failure. Knowing perfectly well what is at stake, the writer, having full confidence in the goodness of his cause, fearlessly maintains that everything relating to the matter of salvation, means not less than end, is worthy of the Maker and Lord of all. "It became Him." The point of view is peculiar. In one respect it goes beyond the usual biblical manner of regarding Divine action, the Bible writers ordinarily being content to rest in God's good pleasure. In another it is defective, as compared, for example, with Paul's way of treating the death of Christ as necessitated by the righteousness of God. The apologetic aim explains both features. The writer is dealing with men to whom Christ's sufferings are a stumblingblock, to whom therefore it will not suffice to say, "It pleased the Lord to bruise Him." On the other hand, he is glad to be able to show them the fitness of Christ's sufferings from any point of view, even though his statement should come far short of presenting a complete theory. The statements of apologists are apt

to appear defective from a dogmatic point of view, as they sometimes learn to their cost. At the same time it must be remarked that the statement of this inspired apologist is not so defective as has sometimes been represented, as when it is said that the reason for the death of Christ here given is related to the Pauline as the Scotist theory to the Anselmian, or the Socinian to the Lutheran.<sup>1</sup> It points to a congruity between the experience of Christ and the moral nature of God. It is in the same line with the Pauline doctrine, only it is less definite and more general.

The sentence in which the Godworthiness of the method of salvation is asserted is so constructed as to be in a manner self-evidencing. The writer, as he proceeds, uses words charged with persuasive virtue, so that by the time we arrive at the end of the verse we are disposed to give a cordial assent to the doctrine enunciated. Not that the whole evidence is either stated or even suggested in this single sentence; for all that remains of the second chapter may be regarded as an expression and elucidation of the thought contained therein. But the words are so fitly chosen, and the clauses so skilfully arranged, as to win our sympathy in behalf of the truth stated, and to dispose us to lend a favourable ear to what may be further advanced in its illustration and defence. This will appear, as we consider in detail the separate members of the sentence.

First comes the clause in which God's end in the mission of Christ is set forth: πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα: "in bringing many sons unto glory." The words certainly refer to God, not to Christ, the change of case from the dative (αὐτῷ) to the accusative (ἀγαγόντα) notwithstanding. The aim of the whole sentence puts this beyond doubt. The intention is to ascribe to God, in connexion with the sufferings of Christ, an end undoubtedly worthy of Him who is the final end of all things. True, the Godworthiness

<sup>1</sup> So Pfeiderer: *Paulinismus*, p. 342.

of that end is not directly asserted, the whole stress of the difficulty lying, not on the end, but on the means. But though not expressly asserted, it is plainly implied. The end is alluded to for the purpose of suggesting that thought as a help to the understanding of the more difficult one. And skill in the art of persuasion is exhibited in placing it in the forefront. For who could doubt the Godworthiness of the end proposed: the salvation of man? It might be presumptuous to say that God was bound to become a Saviour, but it may confidently be asserted that to save becomes Him. The work He undertook was congruous to His position and character. It was worthy of God the Creator, by whom all things were made at the first, that He should not allow His workmanship in man to be utterly marred and frustrated by sin. The irretrievable ruin of man would have seriously compromised the Creator's honour and glory. It would have made it possible to charge the Divine Being with failure, to represent Him as over-reached by the tempter of man, to suspect Him of want of power or of will to remedy the mischief done by the fall. On this subject Athanasius, in his discourse on the incarnation of the Word, well remarks: "It would have been an indecency if those who had been once created rational had been allowed to perish through corruption. For that would have been unworthy of the goodness of God, if the beings He had Himself created had been allowed to perish through the fraud of the devil against man. Nay, it would have been most indecent that the skill of God displayed in man should be destroyed either through their carelessness or through the devil's craftiness."

The Godworthiness of the end becomes still more apparent when the subjects of the Divine operation are thought of as, what they are here called, *sons*. What more worthy of God than to lead His own sons to the glory for which man was originally fitted and destined, when he was

made in God's image, and set at the head of the creation? The title "sons" was possibly suggested by the creation story, but it arises immediately out of the nature of salvation as indicated in the quotation from the eighth Psalm, —lordship in the world to be. This high destiny places man alongside of *the* Son whom God "appointed heir of all things." "If sons, then heirs," reasoned Paul; "if heirs, then sons," argues inversely the author of our epistle. Both reason legitimately, for sonship and heirship imply each other. Those who are appointed to lordship in the new world of redemption are sons of God, for what higher privilege or glory can God bestow on His sons? And on those who stand in a filial relation to God He may worthily bestow so great a boon. To lead His sons to their glorious inheritance is the appropriate thing for God to do.

We have next to notice the title given to Him who for men tasted death. He is designated τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας: the Captain or Leader of salvation. I decidedly prefer the old rendering of the Authorized Version to that of the Revised Version, which, in common with many recent interpreters, substitutes for the definite term "captain" the vague, weak term "author." The only objection to the rendering "captain" is the predominantly military suggestion it contains, on which account the alternative term "leader" is to be preferred. The idea of leadership serves admirably the apologetic purpose, and is therefore by all means to be retained. There is no good reason for excluding it. It is confessedly in harmony with the general thought of the epistle, and even the most cautious among recent expositors goes the length of admitting that "the idea that the Son goes before the saved in the same path ought perhaps to be retained."<sup>1</sup> The idea fits in to the view of salvation hitherto suggested, lord-

<sup>1</sup> Davidson: *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 65. Dr. W. Robertson Smith, while acknowledging that the idea of leadership is suitable enough to the



ship in the world-to-come. The lordship is not yet realized; the world-to-come is a promised land into which the redeemed have to march. And as the Israelites had their leader, under whose guidance they marched from Egypt to Canaan, so the subjects of the greater salvation have their Leader, who conducts them to their glorious inheritance. There can be little doubt that this parallelism was present to the mind of the writer.<sup>1</sup> He speaks of Moses and Joshua, in different senses leaders of Israel, farther on, and it is not a violent supposition that he has them in view even at this early stage. Then we have already found reason for thinking that the expression "crowned with glory and honour," was thus filled up in his mind: "with the glory of a Moses, with the honour of an Aaron." We expect to find him in the immediate sequel applying epithets to Christ descriptive of the respective offices of the two brothers, as both united in Him. And this is what we do find. Here he calls Christ the *archegos*, answering to Moses; a little farther on we find him calling Him the *archiereus*, answering to Aaron. Finally it is to be noted that Christ as *archegos* is said to be perfected by *sufferings* (*παθημάτων*), not by the one suffering of death. The use of the plural is not accidental, it is intended to convey the idea of all sorts of suffering. But the experience of sufferings of all kinds fits into the idea of leader better than to that of priest, in which the suffering of death is the thing to be emphasised. The writer, indeed, knows how to adapt a wide experience of suffering to the priestly aspect of Christ's work, through the medium of a sympathy acquired by such experience, in virtue of which He becomes a trusty High Priest. But the connexion between the experience and the office is not immediately obvious in the case of the priestly thought of the epistle, remarks that the phrase, "Leader in their salvation," is "awkward" (THE EXPOSITOR, Second Series, vol. ii., p. 422).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Edward, imitating the caution of Dr. Davidson, says, "Perhaps the verse contains an allusion to Moses or Joshua."

office; on the other hand, it is immediately obvious in the case of the office of leader.

Adopting, then, the rendering "Leader of salvation," let us consider the apologetic value of the title.

It implies a particular method of saving men, and readily suggests certain things likely to be involved in the adoption of that method.

As to the method of salvation, the title teaches that while God is the supreme Saviour of men, He performs the office through a Mediator. He might conceivably have saved men by a direct act of sovereign power and mercy. But He chose to save by mediation. And this method, if not the only possible one, is at least fitting. It became Him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, to bring His sons to glory in this way. First, because He was thereby following the analogy of providence, doing this work of deliverance in the manner in which we see Him performing all works of deliverance recorded in history. *e.g.* the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, which was, as we have seen, most probably in the writer's thoughts as the great historical type of the work of redemption. How did God deliver Israel? The poetical account of the transaction is: "As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings: so the Lord alone did lead him." In a high, ideal sense it is as true as well as a beautiful representation. Nevertheless the sole leadership, while excluding all strange gods, did not exclude the subordinate leadership of men. God led His ancient people from Egypt to Canaan, like a flock, "by the hand of Moses and Aaron."

The method involves that salvation is a gradual process. It is a march under the guidance of a Leader to the promised land. With this view the aorist participle in the clause preceding, ἀγαγόντα, is not incompatible. This aorist has puzzled interpreters. Many render it "who had

led," understanding the reference to be to Old Testament saints.<sup>1</sup> Others, sensible of the inadmissibility of this interpretation, take the participle as expressing an action synchronous with *τελειῶσαι*, and as implying that when Christ was perfected salvation was accomplished, and God's sons already brought to glory.<sup>2</sup> I prefer, with Bleek, to take the aorist here as in effect a future, and as expressive of intention. In any case, while it is true that in principle salvation was once for all achieved by the perfecting of Christ, it is not less true that the latter was but the initiation of a process which remains to be worked out in detail. The sons of God are led to glory step by step.<sup>3</sup> The new heavens and the new earth are not brought in *per saltum*, but as the result of a development during which the word and history and passion of Christ work as a leaven. Redemption has a history alike in the Leader and in the led. Redemption after this fashion became Him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, better than an instantaneous deliverance. The latter might reveal Divine omnipotence, but the former affords scope for the display of all Divine attributes: power, wisdom, patience, faithfulness, unwearied loving care.

The method of salvation by a Leader involves certain things with reference to the Leader Himself.

First, He must, of course, be a Man visible to men, whom He has to lead; so that they can look unto Him as the Leader and Perfecter of faith, and, inspired by His example, follow Him on the path which leads to glory.

Out of this primary requirement naturally springs another. He who in person is to lead the people out of the house of

<sup>1</sup> So the Vulgate, which translates, "Qui multos filios in gloriam adduxerat."

<sup>2</sup> So Dr. W. R. Smith.

<sup>3</sup> So in effect Meyer. He remarks: "The participle is justified thereby, that, from the moment Christ appeared on earth and found faith, God led those who believed on Him to glory; that is, made them walk on the way to glory. For only expectancy, not possession, is expressed."

bondage into the promised land must, in the discharge of his duty, encounter hardship and suffering. He must share the lot of those whom he has to deliver. He not only ought, he must; it arises inevitably out of the nature of the task. Whether we take the word ἀρχηγός as signifying a leader like Moses, or a military captain like Joshua, the truth of this statement is apparent. Neither Moses nor Joshua had an easy time of it. The leadership of Israel was for neither a dilettante business, but a sore, perilous, often thankless toil and warfare. And there never was any real leader or captain of men whose life was anything else than a yoke of care, and a burden of toil and sorrow. They have all had to suffer with those they led, and more than any of the led. What wonder then if the Captain or Leader of the great salvation was acquainted with suffering? Must He be the solitary exception to the rule which connects leadership with suffering? Ought we not rather to expect that He, being the ideally perfect Captain given by God to be a leader and commander to the people whom He purposes to lead to glory, will likewise be more than any other experienced in suffering? If out of regard to His dignity as the Son He must be exempted from suffering, then for the same reason He must forfeit the position of leader. To exempt from suffering is to disable for leadership. Companionship in suffering is one of the links that connect a leader with those he leads and gives him power over them. For the led, especially those who are being led to "glory," have their troubles too, and no leader can win their hearts who does not share these. For one thing they have all to die, therefore their Leader also must "taste death" for their encouragement. Therefore it certainly became Him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in leading many sons to glory through tribulation, to make the Captain of salvation a participant in tribulation. He was thereby only fitting Him to be the better Captain.



This brings us to a third implicate of the method of salvation by a captain for the Captain Himself. It is, that experience of suffering is not merely inseparable from His office as the Captain of salvation, but useful to Him in that capacity. *It perfects Him as Captain.* Here at length we reach the climax of the apologetic argument; the final truth in which, when understood, the mind finds perfect rest. If this be indeed true, then beyond all doubt it became God to subject His Son to a varied experience of suffering. To proclaim its truth is the real aim of the writer. For though his direct affirmation is that it *became* God to perfect His Son by suffering, the really important thing is the indirect affirmation that the Son *was* perfected by suffering. It is one of the great thoughts of the epistle, to be written, so to speak, in large capitals.

How then are we to understand the doctrine? On this question, unhappily, interpreters are much divided in opinion. The term *τελειῶσαι* has been variously rendered. Some take it in a ceremonial sense, and give as the meaning that Christ was by His death consecrated to the high-priestly office which He exercises in heaven. Others regard it as equivalent to "glorify," and find in the text the truth which Jesus taught the two disciples who journeyed to Emmaus: that it behoved Christ to enter into the glory and felicity of heaven through suffering. For those who take this view, the "perfecting" of verse 10 is synonymous with the "crowning with glory and honour" of verse 9, understood as referring to the state of exaltation. A third class of interpreters associate with the word the idea of fitting for office. The perfecting of Christ on this view will mean making Him a perfect Captain of salvation. A fourth class have a strong bias in favour of an ethical interpretation, according to which the doctrine of the passage becomes that, through His curriculum of suffering, Christ was perfected in moral character by learning certain virtues, such

as sympathy, patience, obedience, faith. Briefly put, the four views may be distinctly represented by the words *consecration, beatification, complete equipment, perfected moral development*.

The diverse interpretations are not so far apart as they seem : they shade into each other ; and that is the cause of so much diversity of opinion prevailing among competent expositors. The truth appears to be, that the writer of the epistle does not in his use of the word bind himself down rigidly to one precise technical sense, but uses it with a certain prophetic freedom. He employs it with reference to Christ in various connexions of thought ; now apparently in relation to office, at another time in relation to character, a third time in relation to state or condition. He uses it also in reference to men in an entirely different way, as when he speaks of worshippers being perfected as pertaining to the conscience : where to perfect seems to be equivalent to "justify" in Pauline phraseology. With this variety of usage however it is quite compatible that there should be one radical general sense throughout. That radical sense is to bring to the end. The specific senses will vary according to the nature of the end. If the end be to become a leader, the specific sense will be to become a perfect leader, a thoroughly efficient, capable Captain ; if it be to get into a right relation to God as a pardoned man, the specific sense will be to justify.<sup>1</sup>

Other opportunities will occur for considering more fully the various uses of the word and their affinities. Meantime what we have to do with is the specific sense in which *τελειῶσαι* is used in the present passage. I have no hesitation in understanding it in the third of the four senses above enumerated. The writer means to say that Christ was perfected by suffering, in the sense that He was thereby

<sup>1</sup> For some excellent remarks on the meanings, of *τελειῶω*, see Davidson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 65 and 207.

made a perfect leader. The perfecting of Christ was a process resulting in His becoming a consummate Captain of salvation. It was a process carried on *through* sufferings, taking place contemporaneously with these. It was a process begun on earth, carried on throughout Christ's whole earthly life, reaching its goal in heaven; just as the crowning with glory and honour began on earth and was completed in heaven. The crowning was the appointment of Jesus to the vocation of Saviour, the perfecting was the process through which He became skilled in the art of saving. The theatre or school of His training was His human history, and the training consisted in His acquiring, or having opportunity of exercising, the qualities and virtues which go to make a good leader of salvation. Foremost among these are sympathy, patience, obedience, faith, all of which are mentioned in the course of the epistle. Whether we should say of Christ that He acquired these virtues and became more and more expert in them, or merely that He had an opportunity in His earthly life, with its experiences of temptation and suffering, of displaying them, is a question of dogmatic theology rather than of exegesis. Our author declares in another place that Christ *learned obedience*. We know what that would mean as applied to an ordinary man. It would imply growth, development in moral character. Whether such can be predicated of Christ without prejudice to His sinlessness is a question for dogmatic theology to settle. If it were, we should then be entitled to include in the official perfecting of Christ a personal ethical element, that it might be as real, full of contents, and significant as possible. The official perfecting of every ordinary man includes an ethical element. An apprentice during the course of his apprenticeship, not only goes through all the departments of his craft and acquires gradually skill in each branch, but all along undergoes a discipline of character, which tends to make him a better man, as well as a good tradesman.

In any case, whatever view we take on the question as to Christ's personal growth in virtue, the point of importance is, that the process of His official perfecting took place *within the ethical sphere*. The supreme qualification for a leader of salvation is the possession and exercise of high heroic virtues, such as those already enumerated. He leads by inspiring admiration and trust; that is, by being a moral hero. But a moral hero means one whose life is hard, tragic. Heroes are produced by passing through a severe, protracted curriculum of trial. They are perfected by sufferings—sufferings of all sorts, the more numerous, varied, and severe the better; the more complete the training, the more perfect the result, when the discipline has been successfully passed through. Hence the fitness, nay, the necessity, that one having Christ's vocation should live such a life as the gospels depict; full of temptations, privations, contradictions of unbelief, ending with death on the cross; calling into play to the uttermost the virtue of fortitude, affording ample scope for the display at all costs of fidelity to duty and obedience to God, and in the most desperate situations of implicit filial trust in a heavenly Father; and through all these combined furnishing most satisfactory guarantees for the possession of unlimited capacity to sympathise with all exposed to the temptations and tribulations of this world. How can any son of God who is being led through fire and blood to his inheritance doubt the value of a Leader so trained and equipped? I know not whether those commentators be right who say that *διὰ παθημάτων*, in the intention of the writer, applies to the "many sons" who are being led to glory, as well as to their Leader;<sup>1</sup> but I am quite sure that he regarded their experience of suffering as an aid to the understanding of the doctrine of Christ's perfecting not less than as an occasion for administering the comfort of it.

<sup>1</sup> So Grotius, and likewise Pfeiderer; *vide* his *Paulinismus*, p. 344.



From the foregoing exposition it will be apparent what apologetic force resides in this skilfully worded and constructed sentence. Its teaching, direct or implied, may thus be summed up:

1. The end proposed—the leading of many sons to glory—is manifestly Godworthy.

2. The carrying out of this end naturally demands a human Leader.

3. Leadership inevitably involves arduous experiences common to Leader and led, but falling with heavier force on Him than on them.

4. These experiences fit the Leader for His work, establishing comradeship between Him and the led, and inspiring in them admiration and confidence.

On the other hand, it is evident that a firm grasp of the apologetic aim is the key to the interpretation. Lose sight of it, or faintly recognise it as a bare possibility, then the idea of leadership also sinks into a mere “perhaps,” or is merged in the vague general idea of authorship, and it is no longer apparent how sufferings should be an indispensable part of Christ’s experience. A self-evidencing proposition becomes a comparatively obscure assertion.

It may be objected, that what we gain apologetically by adopting the rendering “Leader” for the title given to Christ we lose dogmatically. Leader signifies little more than example. The death of Christ, on this view of His function, has no special significance; it simply takes its place among His sufferings, the last and severest of His many sorrowful experiences. He died for every one, not in the sense of dying in their stead, but in the sense that He makes death another thing for all who look to Him as their Captain:

“The Saviour hath passed through its portal before thee,  
And the lamp of His love is thy guide through the gloom.”

Now it is quite true that the *rationale* of Christ’s suffer-

ings offered to us by the author of our epistle, *so far as we have yet gone*, is, theologically, very meagre. But the view given is true so far as it goes ; it is one side of a many-sided doctrine, which embraces all the fragments of truth that form the basis of the various theories concerning the meaning of Christ's passion. The writer of our epistle was not a onesided theorist, but a man of prophetic insight, looking at truth with spiritual versatility, from diverse points of view, and knowing how to use them all in turn. And he was thankful, to begin with, to be able to exhibit the fitness and necessity of Christ's sufferings from any point of view which had a chance of commending itself to the minds of his Hebrew readers. If it was true, important, useful, and above all obvious, it was enough. It was a point gained to have lodged in their minds the one thought : the sufferings of Christ a useful discipline for Him in sympathy with men and in obedience to God, and therefore a good training for being the Leader of salvation. It may seem incredible that at that time of day, after many years of Christian profession, they should need to be taught truths which are but the alphabet of the doctrine concerning Christ's death. But we have the writer's own word for it that such was the fact. And if we wish to understand the epistle, we must keep the fact steadily in mind, and beware of falling into the error of supposing that the writer and his readers stood, in religious thought and belief, pretty much on a level. The error may be applied in either of two ways : by lifting the readers up to the writer's level, or by degrading him down to theirs. Both mistakes are alike fatal to successful exposition. In the one case we shall find in the book a collection of lifeless theological commonplaces ; in the other we shall find in it a conception of Christianity which has not surmounted Judaism.

A. B. BRUCE.

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## ADVICE ABOUT COMMENTARIES.

### I. THE PENTATEUCH AND JOSHUA (*continued*).

IN our former article which appeared in the March No., we noticed some of the more recent commentaries on the entire Bible worthy of attention by the English student engaged in studies on the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. In the present article we have a more difficult task to perform, namely, to review briefly the special commentaries which have appeared on the several books of the Hexateuch, with other works directly or indirectly bearing on those portions of Holy Scripture. The literature of the subject published during the last ten years is too large to permit of its being adequately reviewed in the space assigned for the purpose, while it is necessary also to refer to works of an older date. We cannot therefore attempt to give even a bare list of works on the subject, but must content ourselves with alluding briefly to the more important contributions.

Many important suggestions in connexion with the difficulties of the Hexateuch are to be found in the works of the eminent scholars of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The commentaries of such critics as Calvin, Munster, Fagius, Masius, Grotius, Clericus, and others, ought by no means to be neglected as obsolete and undeserving of attention, although Biblical science has made rapid strides in advance in later times. Rosenmüller's *Scholia in Vetus Test.* (1798-1817 and 1825-1835) were so carefully compiled that his work, though needing frequent revision in details, is still of great use for textual criticism, as is also J. S. Vater's *Commentar über den Pent.* (3 Theile, 1803-1805). The latter work, however, is of a negative tendency. In the same direction were the *Contributions* (*Beiträge*) of de Wette, published in 1806, 1807. That

scholar afterwards somewhat modified his views in his *Einleitung*, the last edition of which appeared in 1845.

The commentary of P. von Bohlen on Genesis (Königsberg, 1835), which is of a thoroughly rationalistic character, has been translated into English. It is now of little importance. But the work of Gust. Ad. Schumann, *Genesis Hebraice et Græce annot. perpetua* (Lipsiæ, 1829), is still of considerable utility and somewhat rare. The commentary of Professor Tuch of Leipzig, on the same book, first published in 1833, is of more importance to the student. A second improved edition was edited by Arnold and Merx in 1871.

Vatke's opinions on Pentateuch criticism were decidedly destructive. His works, however, cannot be ignored, for their influence is still strongly felt. He died in 1882, having been Professor Extraordinary in Berlin from 1830 up to a short period before his death. His *Biblische Theologie*, or the *Religion of the Old Testament*, was published in 1835, and his matured opinions on the Pentateuch and Joshua were published after his death in the *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie* for 1885. His *Historisch-kritisch. Einleitung in das alte Test.*, a large portion of which is devoted to the Hexateuch (over 200 pages out of 750) has been published in Bonn, 1886, from his prelections, edited by Dr. Hermann Preiss, with a preface by Prof. Hilgenfeld. On the same side is the work of J. F. L. George, *Die älteren Jüdische Feste* (The Older Jewish Feasts), which contains a critique of the laws of the Pentateuch (Berlin, 1835). When first published this work did not excite much attention, but it is now coming prominently into notice in connexion with more recent criticism. Of considerable importance is the work of Th. Nöldeke on this and kindred topics, entitled *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alt. Test.* (Kiel, 1869), and, from a more conservative standpoint, A. Kaiser's work, *Das*



vorexil. *Buch der Urgeschichte Israels and seine Erweiterungen* (Strassburg, 1874), as well as later articles by the same scholar.

Among the replies on the part of orthodox critics, the more important were those by Hengstenberg and Hävernick, whose works on the Pentateuch were published in an English translation by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh. These replies were in many respects weighty, but they were too one-sided. Less was conceded than was required by an impartial examination of the phenomena of the Pentateuch. The works have long since passed out of general use, although they contain arguments, which, if re-stated in a somewhat different form, are still of importance in opposing the extravagances of the radical school. Valuable material for the same purpose may be gleaned from Dean Graves' *Donnellan Lectures on the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch* (1807), G. S. Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*, being the Bampton Lectures for 1801, second edition, London, 1818, the works of Drechsler (1837, 1838), Candlish (R.S.) *Lectures on Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1843, 1852), Macdonald's (Donald) *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1861). But in making use of these works it is necessary, in the interests of truth, to test the value of each argument and to note carefully those which have been adduced on the opposite side. The want of diligence in this respect has given much advantage to the destructive school of criticism.

J. J. Stähelin in his *Kritische Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1843), maintained the Pentateuch to be a work of the time of Samuel with some older documents incorporated with it. His arguments are now of special importance in the face of recent theories of a far more destructive character. The earlier volumes of Ewald's *History of the People of Israel* (1843-1853), long since translated into English by Professor Martineau, must not be forgotten.

Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church* (sixth edition, 1875), striking, if not always sound, are mainly based on the works of Ewald. The late Prof. C. F. Keil, a pupil of Hengstenberg, and a strong defender of the orthodox side, published his *Einleitung* first in 1853, and afterwards commentaries on all the books of the Pentateuch and on Joshua. Keil, it must be noted, is of more weight as an exegete than as a Hebraist. His writings are always of value, though unduly praised by some, and depreciated by others. Translations of all of them into English have been published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark. The latest German editions of his commentaries are, Genesis and Exodus (third edition, 1878); Leviticus to Deuteronomy (second edition, 1870); Joshua, Judges, and Ruth (second edition, 1874). The commentaries of Dr. Kalisch have been already noticed in our former article. Of great value are Knobel's important commentaries on the Hexateuch, which appeared as follows: that on Genesis, 1852, 1860; Leviticus, 1857; Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, 1861. These all formed volumes of the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zur alt. Test.*, published by Hirzel of Leipzig.

Eduard Böhmer's first work on the text of Genesis was published in 1860.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Böhmer was then Docent and Librarian in the University of Halle. He was a man of great versatility, and was afterwards distinguished in several other departments of literature, and ultimately Professor of the Romance Languages and Philology at Strassburg. The peculiarity of his Hebrew text consists in its exhibition of the composite character of the Book of Genesis by the employment of type of different sizes to indicate the various documents out of which that book was supposed to have pieced together. But this text will always be found useful from a conservative standpoint, as

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Genesis Pentateuchicus ex recognitione Eduardi Boehmer. Halis Saxonium, 1860.*

the arbitrary character of the hypothesis in many of its details is its own best reputation. Böhmer in drawing up his text has not unfrequently had recourse to critical conjecture. His views are, however, worthy of consideration, and specially so, as representing in many places the opinions of the eminent Hebrew scholar and critic, Professor Hupfeld of Halle. The views of Hupfeld and Böhmer were more fully expounded in another work by the latter scholar, published in 1862, in which a translation of Genesis is given with exegetical and historical annotations.<sup>1</sup>

The writer's own edition of *Genesis in Hebrew, with a critically revised Text, various Readings, and Grammatical and Critical Notes* (Williams & Norgate, 1859), was published prior to the work of Böhmer, and was duly noticed by that scholar. It was when published, perhaps, fairly abreast of the textual scholarship of the day, which has been recognised by the extensive use made of it in all quarters. It is now somewhat antiquated. The references made in it to Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar are no longer available for ordinary students, since the numbering of the sections of that Grammar has been considerably altered in later editions. An enlarged and revised edition of the work is, therefore, needed. But Hebrew students in our country are too few, and too deficient in enthusiasm, to make the publication of Hebrew texts, accompanied by critical and grammatical notes, remunerative even to publishers. The editors of such works must make up their minds to expect no pecuniary return for their labours. Happy, indeed, are they, if they can only escape loss. This has been no doubt the reason why the edition of *Genesis* referred to, and its companion volume on the *Book of Ruth in Hebrew and*

<sup>1</sup> *Das Erste Buch der Thora. Uebersetzung seiner drei Quellschriften und der Redactionszusätze, mit kritischen, exegetischen, historischen Erörterungen, von Edward Böhmer. Halle, 1862.*

*Chaldee* (published in 1864), have been the only attempts made in England to publish Hebrew critical texts.

A considerable amount of new material, directly bearing on the readings of the text, has been afforded since 1859, by works such as Brüll's treatises on the Samaritan codex, especially his *Samaritanische Targum* (1879), and Rev. J. W. Nutt's *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum* (Lond., 1874); also by the publication by Prof. H. Petermann in the Samaritan character of the so-called "Samaritan Pentateuch," or Samaritano-Hebrew codex.<sup>1</sup> Dr. M. Heidenheim also has edited in Hebrew characters, in his *Bibliotheca Samaritana* (1884), the Samaritan translation of Genesis (the Samaritan Targum), which must not be confounded with the former. Much additional light has been acquired on the texts of the LXX. and the Vulgate, and on the texts of the earlier Latin versions, all of which need to be duly taken notice of in the preparation of any critical text. Of still greater value for such work is the critical edition of the Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible by Baer and Delitzsch. Genesis is the only book of the Pentateuch as yet issued in this edition, although a large number of the other Biblical books have already appeared. Whatever may be the defects of Dr. C. D. Ginsburg's great edition of the Massorah itself, that work cannot safely be neglected by future editors of Hebrew texts of portions of the Holy Scripture. Some important contributions towards a more critical text of the Targums have been made by Lagarde and Merx. Consequently much additional material has been accumulated, which can now be utilized for the correction of the Hebrew text. Nor must we forget what has been done for the

<sup>1</sup> *Pentateuchus Samaritanus*. Ad fidem librorum Manuscriptorum apud Nabulsianos repertorum edidit et varias lectiones adscripsit H. Petermann. Fasciculus i. Genesis, Berolini ap W. Moeser, 1872. Fasciculus ii. Exodus, 882. Fasciculus iii. Leviticus, quam ex recensione Petermanniana typis describendum curavit C. Vollers, 1883. Fasciculus iv. Numeri, ex recens. C. Vollers, 1885.



LXX. Version by the labours of Nestle, de Lagarde, and lastly by Dr. H. B. Swete.

A collection of the opinions of leading critics on textual questions, specially useful for the general English student of the Bible, will be found in the *Commentary on the Book of Genesis for the use of Readers of the English Version*, by Rev. H. C. Groves, D.D. (Macmillan, 1861). Dr. Groves is a clergyman of the Irish Church. The Rev. Professor J. G. Murphy, D.D., of the Assembly's College in Belfast, has published a *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (T. & T. Clark, 1863), which was succeeded by another on the Book of Exodus (1866). Prof. Murphy's commentaries abound with suggestive matter, and are characterised by sturdy common sense; but are somewhat disappointing if consulted on points of Hebrew criticism. We cannot approve either of the plan or the execution of the bulky *Notes on Genesis* by Rev. G. V. Garland, M.A. (Rivingtons, 1878). Nor, from a critical or grammatical standpoint, can we commend the voluminous commentaries on the Pentateuch of Rabbi S. R. Hirsch, of Frankfort-on-Maine, although from some points of view even they are interesting. The volume on Genesis appeared in 1867, and a second edition in 1883. That on Exodus succeeded in 1869, Leviticus in 1873, Numbers in 1874, and Deuteronomy in 1878. Each volume ranges from 414 to 750 pp. On the Jewish side we much prefer the older and more condensed works on the Pentateuch by Philippson (1839) or Herxheimer (1865). The edition of the Scriptures in Hebrew and English, with notes by De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall (Bagster, 1844), never went beyond the first volume, that on Genesis. The most important work for English students of the Hebrew of Genesis (well worthy, too, of the attention of advanced scholars) is *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis, with two Appendices*, by G. J. Spurrell, M.A. (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1887). The writer

fully endorses the commendation meted out to this work by Professor Cheyne in *THE EXPOSITOR* for January, pp. 74, 75. The grammatical notes in the volume are well up to date, and are exceedingly valuable.

Most of the matter contained in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* on the Pentateuch (1858) worthy of the attention of the student will be found better given in later works. It is much to be regretted that Professor Ebers' most valuable monograph on *Egypt and the Books of Moses*<sup>1</sup> remains a fragment. Paul Isaac Herschon published in Hebrew, in 1874 (Bagster & Sons), *The Pentateuch according to the Talmud—Genesis*, and somewhat later an English translation of Rabbi Jacob's *Tzeénah Ureénah* (A.D. 1648) under the title of *A Rabbinical Commentary on Genesis* (1885). The *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* of Dr. August Wünsche<sup>2</sup> is a really important work, being a translation into German of the Midrash Rabba and other old Midrashim, with occasional critical notes. The work was published in parts, and its extent will be better understood by observing that the portion on *Genesis*, which appeared in 1881, embraces (without reckoning the introduction) pp. 588, *Exodus* (1882) pp. 408, *Leviticus* (1884) pp. 300, *Numbers* (1885) pp. 676, and *Deuteronomy* (1882) pp. 184.

The present position of Pentateuch studies has been largely influenced by the writings of K. H. Graf (*Die geschichtl. Bücher des A. T.*, Leipzig, 1866), whose views were considerably improved upon by J. Wellhausen, sometime Professor in Greifswald and Halle, now belonging to the Philosophical Faculty of Marburg, in his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung* (Berlin, 1878). Wellhausen's most important work on the subject is his *Prolegomena zur Ge-*

<sup>1</sup> *Ägypten und die Bücher Mose's*. Sachlicher Commentar zu den ägyptischen Stellen in Genesis and Exodus von Dr. Georg Ebers. Erster Band. Leipzig, 1868.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*: eine Sammlung alter Midraschim zum ersten Male ins deutsche übertragen. Von Lic. Dr. Aug. Wünsche. Leipzig: Otto Schulze.

*schichte Israels* (1883). Ed. Reuss, who was really the teacher of Graf, set forth his own views somewhat later than his distinguished pupil in *La Bible: Ancien Testament III., L'histoire sainte et la loi* (Paris, 1879); also in *Gesch. der heilig. Schriften alt. Test.* (Braunschweig, 1881). Ad. Jülicher contributed to the discussion in several articles on the sources of Exod. i.-vii. 7 and of Exod. vii. 8-xxiv. 11, in the *Jahrb. für Prot. Theol.*, 1882. More important in the same negative direction were the writings of Prof. A. Kuenen, of Leyden, especially his *Godsdienst van Israel* (2 vols., 1869), and in the first volume of his *Historico-critical Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, which Prof. Th. Weber of Halle is now bringing out in a German translation, parts of which have already been published. The portion of this work which treats of the Hexateuch has been translated into English, and published by Macmillan in 1886. The Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, which practically relegates the production of the Pentateuch in its present shape to the period after the Exile, has been popularised in this country by Dr. W. Robertson Smith's book on *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (Edinburgh, 1881).

It would be impossible here to give even an outline of this controversy, which is very far from being closed. We cannot coincide in the conclusions arrived at by these critics. Numerous have been the protests from opposing scholars. Professor David Hoffmann of the Rabbiner-Seminar in Berlin, has written against the theory in his *Abhandlungen über die pent. Gesetze* (1878), and in articles on the latest hypothesis concerning the Priest-codex in the *Magaz. für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (1879, 1880). Important articles have appeared by R. Kittel on the same subject, in the *Theolog. Studien aus Wittenberg* (1881, 1882). Fr. Roos has entered the same field (Stuttgart, 1883), as well as Prof. Bredenkamp of Greifswald, in a work on

the *Law and the Prophets* (Erlangen, 1881), while Prof. E. Böhl, of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Vienna, has published a book entitled, *Zum Gesetz und zum Zeugniß* (Wien, 1883), which is an attack on the new critical school of Old Testament investigations. Numerous articles in theological journals in England, America, and the Continent have appeared on this subject; the most important being the series of *critical studies* on the Pentateuch contributed by Prof. Dr. Franz Delitzsch to the *Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, Nos. i.-xii., in 1880, and that on the Mosaic portions of the Pentateuch (*Urmosaïsches im Pent.*), Nos. i.-vi. in the same journal in 1882. In the same *Zeitschrift* have appeared other important articles, especially those of Prof. Dr. F. Eduard König, now called to Rostock, the author of a most valuable *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der Heb. Sprache*, whose *Haupt-probleme der altisrael. Religionsgeschichte* (1884), unfortunately terribly caricatured in an English translation published under the title of the *Religion of Israel*, touches upon some of the most important questions connected with the Pentateuch. In the *Contemporary Review* for 1887 an important series appeared by Capt. Conder, Dr. R. S. Poole, Dr. W. Robertson Smith, closing with two articles in this year's issue on the *Age of the Pentateuch*, by the Dean of Peterborough.

The most important works which have recently appeared on the Book of Genesis are unquestionably the following : (1) The fifth edition (1886) of the commentary on that book by Prof. Aug. Dillmann, specially distinguished as an Æthiopic scholar. Prof. Dillmann was the editor of the third edition of Knobel's Commentary which appeared in 1875. The fourth edition (1882), was almost an independent work, and though the fifth edition has not been completely re-written, it contains much new matter of value, especially in relation to the views of Prof. K. Budde of



Bonn and Prof. Kuenen. Dr. Dillmann's Commentary on Exodus and Leviticus (Leipzig, 1830), and on Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua (1886), are among the most important Biblical works of modern times. (2) Prof. Franz Delitzsch, the veteran commentator, has issued a *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, 1887. An English translation of this is in progress, and will shortly be issued by Messrs. T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh. Delitzsch has conceded more in this work to the critical school than we are inclined to believe is really necessary. Those who are blindly wedded to traditional opinions will not be slow to condemn the veteran champion of orthodoxy for every concession he has made, like those who in days gone by regarded Hengstenberg's *Commentary on the Psalms* as a sad declension from that theologian's book on the *Christology of the Old Testament*. There are those, alas! who look upon every deviation from the old traditional views as akin to apostasy from the faith. But they who are really gifted with a firmer faith in "the oracles of God," and are indisposed to think "the ark" in danger, because the oxen that carry it happen to "stumble" (2 Sam. vi.), will, even though differing in many points from the conclusions arrived at, welcome this work of Delitzsch as a most valuable contribution to Pentateuch literature.

C. H. H. WRIGHT.

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# INDEX.

---

	PAGE
<b>Rev. R. G. Balfour, M.A.</b>	
The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ . . . .	438
<b>Rev. Professor W. H. Bennett, M.A.</b>	
Ancient and Modern Prophets . . . . .	69
<b>Rev. Professor A. B. Bruce, D.D.</b>	
The Epistle to the Hebrews:	
III. Christ and the Angels . . . . .	81
IV. The Great Salvation, wherein it Consists, and how it has been Obtained . . . . .	359
V. The Captain of Salvation . . . . .	447
<b>Rev. Professor T. K. Cheyne, D.D.</b>	
Thoughts . . . . .	231
Dante and Delitzsch . . . . .	318
Studies in Practical Exegesis:	
I. . . . .	379
II. . . . .	428
Brevia . . . . .	399
<b>Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D.</b>	
How far is the Church Responsible for Present Scepti- cism? . . . . .	297
<b>E.</b>	
Brevia: Assyrisches Wörterbuch, von F. Delitzsch .	233, 320
<b>Rev. F. F. Emerson.</b>	
The Teaching of Christ concerning the Use of Money .	100

	PAGE
<b>Ven. Archdeacon F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S.</b>	
The Second Epistle of St. Peter and Josephus. . . .	58
<b>Rev. J. Monro Gibson, D.D.</b>	
Wisdom Personified, and Love Incarnate . . . .	193
<b>Rev. Professor F. Godet, D.D.</b>	
General Review of St. Paul's Epistles . . . .	35
<b>Rev. W. B. Hutton, M.A.</b>	
The Book of Job: with reference to chap. xix. 23-27 . .	127
<b>Rev. Professor J. Laidlaw, D.D.</b>	
The Parable of the Lost Son. A Study    Luke xv. 11-32 :	
I. . . . .	268
II. . . . .	388
<b>Rev. G. Lansing, D.D.</b>	
The Pentateuch—Egypticity and Authenticity :	
I. . . . .	219
II. . . . .	307
<b>Rev. Professor W. Milligan, D.D.</b>	
The Idea of Priesthood . . . . .	1
Idea of Old Testament Priesthood fulfilled in the New	
Testament . . . . .	161
The Melchizedek or Heavenly High Priesthood of our Lord :	
I. . . . .	277
II. . . . .	337
<b>Professor W. M. Ramsay, M.A.</b>	
Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia: a Study in the	
Early History of the Church . . . . .	241, 401
<b>Rev. F. Rendall, M.A.</b>	
Notes on the Acts of the Apostles :	
viii.-xiv. . . . .	21
xv.-xix. . . . .	113
xx.-xxviii. . . . .	203



**Rev. Professor W. Sanday, D.D.**

PAGE

- A Step in Advance on the Question of Early Church  
Organization . . . . . 321

**Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, M.A.**

- The White Race of Ancient Palestine . . . . . 48  
The Woman's Language of Chaldæa . . . . . 319

**Rev. W. H. Simcox, M.A.**

- The Authentic Pictures of St. Luke . . . . . 152  
The Pauline Antilegomena . . . . . 180

**Rev. Professor Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A.**

- Brevia : Recent Discovery of Cuneiform Tablets at Tell el  
Amarna . . . . . 157

**Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D.**

Advice about Commentaries :

- I. The Pentateuch and Joshua (*continued*) . . . . . 462

---

Etched Portrait of Professor Ewald. By H. MANESSE.



# INDEX TO TEXTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Genesis xiv. 18-20 . . . . .	280	Acts viii. 16 . . . . .	21
xxxix. . . . .	221	viii. 21 . . . . .	22
xli. 40 . . . . .	307	viii. 23 . . . . .	22
xli. 43 . . . . .	308	viii. 26 . . . . .	23
xli. 57 . . . . .	316	viii. 39 . . . . .	23
Exodus xix. 6 . . . . .	4, 9	ix. 31. . . . .	25
Leviticus xxi. 2, 11 . . . . .	170	ix. 35. . . . .	25
Numbers vi. 22-26 . . . . .	20	x. 3 . . . . .	26
xiii. 33 . . . . .	51	x. 8 . . . . .	27
xxi. 26 . . . . .	56	x. 30 . . . . .	27
Deuteronomy i. 27, 23 . . . . .	51	xiii. 19, 20 . . . . .	31
iv. 7 . . . . .	11	xv.-xix. . . . .	113
vii. 6 . . . . .	11	xviii. 5 . . . . .	121
ix. 26 . . . . .	11	xx.-xxviii. . . . .	203
1 Samuel x. 8 . . . . .	15	xx. 4 . . . . .	203
Job xiii. 15 . . . . .	381	xxvi. 17 . . . . .	213
xix. 23-27 . . . . .	127	1 Cor. v. 7, 8 . . . . .	164
Psaln xxxii. . . . .	379	xv. 32 . . . . .	44
li. 19 . . . . .	16	1 Timothy . . . . .	182
Proverbs i. 20-33 . . . . .	194	2 Timothy iv. 18 . . . . .	45
Jonah . . . . .	78	Hebrews . . . . .	182
Matthew v. 17 . . . . .	162	i. 5-14 . . . . .	81
vi. 19 . . . . .	101	ii. 5-18 . . . . .	359
xxii. 43-45 . . . . .	278	v. 6, 10 . . . . .	279
Luke xv. 11-32 . . . . .	268, 388	vii. 12 . . . . .	5
John xii. 32 . . . . .	337	vii. 16 . . . . .	294
xvi. 23 . . . . .	17	vii. 25 . . . . .	352
xvii. 11 . . . . .	358	x. 12 . . . . .	351
xx. 21 . . . . .	178	xii. 22-24 . . . . .	173
Acts viii.-xiv. . . . .	21	2 Peter . . . . .	58
viii. 3 . . . . .	21	1 John i. 7. . . . .	340